# The Guardian Weekly

Vol 155, No 16
Week ending October 20, 1996


# Urgent inquiry will test MPs' integrity

**David Hencke**

PARLIAMENT'S most senior body on Monday launched an urgent inquiry into allegations that disgraced former minister Neil Hamilton and other MPs took thousands of pounds of "cash for questions" from Harrods owner Mohamed Al Fayed and undeclared fees from lobbyist Ian Greer for other clients.

The move came after Betty Boothroyd, the Speaker, warned MPs that they must take urgent and firm action to investigate the scandal, warning that it had called into question the reputation of Parliament.

After a 3½-hour hearing, the Standards and Privileges Committee decided to investigate nearly all the allegations made by the Guardian to see if the complaints against MPs were justified.

It is the biggest test of Parliament's ability to investigate allegations of corrupt practices in the Commons since Lord Nolan announced his wholesale reform of the system last year.

Sir Gordon Downey, the Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards, has been asked to examine not only the central allegation against Mr Hamilton that he had taken £28,000 in cash and shopping vouchers from Mr Al Fayed, but also other allegations, admitted by the former minister, that he was paid £10,000 in cash and payments in kind from Mr Greer.

Sir Gordon is expected to examine allegations involving Mr Hamilton and Michael Brown, MP for Cleethorpes, taking money from Ian Greer for promoting US Tobacco Group and its banned chewing tobacco, Skoal Bandits, which can cause mouth cancer.

Other inquiries are thought to include MPs involved with Mr Hamilton in promoting Mr Al Fayed's case in return for cash, and the payments by Ian Greer to 24 MPs who had received election funding in 1987 and 1992, through money recycled from Mr Al Fayed and Dave Allen, owner of DHL, the courier company.

Tony Newton, the cabinet minister who chaired the committee, said: "The committee take the view that, should a report from the commissioner lead them to judge it necessary to take evidence, the presumption should be such hearings would be in public."

It looks likely that Sir Gordon will report back in the New Year, leaving members to decide whether there should be public hearings.

Miss Boothroyd was said to be considering a separate complaint against David Willetts, the junior minister, who as a government whip has been accused of interfering with the first Members' Interests Committee inquiry two years ago into Mr Hamilton's stay at Mr Al Fayed's Ritz Hotel in Paris.

If the Speaker does refer the Willetts issue to the committee, Sir Geoffrey Johnson Smith, the former chairman of the committee, who examined the affair, will stand down from any hearing by the new committee into Mr Willetts's conduct.

Miss Boothroyd had told the Commons: "While the House has been adjourned very serious allegations have been widely made about the conduct of a number of members. Indeed, the reputation of the House as a whole has been called into question.

"I hope the Committee on Standards and Privileges will find it possible to make an early special report to the House, so that the full nature and scope of any investigations which it undertakes may be made known."

The Week in Britain, page 8



Nobel winner . . . Jose Ramos-Horta surrounded by delighted supporters in Sydney

# East Timor peace activists win Nobel prize

**Jon Henley in Helsinki and John Aglionby in Jakarta**

CARLOS BELO, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, and Jose Ramos-Horta, an exiled resistance leader, were declared the winners of the Nobel Peace Prize for their efforts to bring peace to the former Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia 20 years ago.

The award was the most overtly political since the Burmese opposition leader, Aung San Suu Kyi, won in 1991, and sparked fears of fresh repression on the island.

Bishop Belo and Mr Ramos-Horta were honoured for their "sustained and self-sacrificing contributions for a small but oppressed people", the Norwegian Nobel Committee said.

"Bishop Belo . . . has been the foremost representative of the people of East Timor. At the risk of his own life, he has tried to protect his people from infringements by those in power." Mr Ramos-Horta, aged 51, had for 20 years been "the leading international spokesman for East Timor's cause".

Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim nation, invaded the mainly Catholic East Timor in 1975 and later declared it its 27th province. The United Nations has never recognised the annexation, which is believed to have cost about 200,000 lives.

The occupation sparked outrage after the massacre of about 200 pro-independence protesters in November 1991, an incident which Bishop Belo urged the government to investigate. Two generals were dismissed, and several army officers imprisoned.

Using frank language, the committee said Indonesia had "systematically oppressed" the people of East Timor.

Indonesia's foreign minister Ali Alatas denounced Mr Ramos-Horta as a "political adventurist . . . repudiated by the majority of the people of East Timor".

The Nobel committee's chairman, Francis Sejersted, said they were aware of the risk of criticism. "This was about to become a forgotten conflict, and we wanted to contribute to maintaining momentum."

● President Suharto of Indonesia shook hands with Bishop Belo during a ceremony in the East Timor capital, Dili, on Monday, but did not exchange any words.

Hugo Young, page 12

# Populist holds the key to power in New Zealand

**Giles Wilson in Wellington**

NEW ZEALAND was plunged this week into a period of political uncertainty that could last for months after Winston Peters, the populist wild card of politics and leader of New Zealand First, emerged from last week's general election as kingmaker but refused to show his hand.

Under the new system of proportional representation, the National Party won a majority of votes and seats, but its margin is so slim that it is unclear whether it can remain in power.

The prime minister, Jim Bolger, refused to admit defeat and said his party would seek to form a coalition. The Labour Party must do the same if its leader, Helen Clark, is to become the country's first woman prime minister.

National won 44 seats, Labour 37, New Zealand First 17, the Alliance Party 13 and Act New Zealand eight in the new 120-member parliament. The small centrist United Party, expected to favour National, took one.

Ms Clark, who began the campaign as the "ugly duckling" but became known as "Cinderella" as her fortunes improved, confidently predicted that she would lead a coalition with New Zealand First and Alliance, to "break through that glass ceiling and be the first woman prime minister of New Zealand", as she told cheering supporters.

But Mr Bolger, who has a potential partner in the radical free-market Act New Zealand, urged the financial markets to keep calm and said that he hoped to be part of a "sensible and forward-looking government".

"Where Peters goes, I guess, goes government," said a government spokesman.

Mr Peters himself remained equivocal. He said: "We'll be seeking political and economic stability, the best interests of our country, real solutions to the outstanding social problems that bedevil us."

Mr Peters, aged 50, of Maori and Scottish descent, has promised a return to traditional values, honest politics, better health care and "a New Zealand controlled by New Zealanders".

He has denied he is a racist, though he has criticised Asian immigration. His rhetoric has been aimed at voters disillusioned with the neo-liberal policies of the main parties, which have radically reformed New Zealand's economy in the past 11 years.

He formed New Zealand First four years ago after Mr Bolger fired him from the cabinet and expelled him from the National Party because of a bitter feud.

One possibility is that Mr Peters may join a National-led coalition, with Mr Bolger's resignation as the price. But most observers think he is more likely to join a coalition led by Labour.

Changes to Ms Clark's style and appearance are widely credited with giving the Labour campaign fresh impetus. A new hairstyle, easier mannerisms and a softer image on television are the result of intensive training over the past few weeks.





| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austria | AS30 | Malta | 45c |
| Belgium | BF75 | Netherlands | G 4.75 |
| Denmark | DK16 | Norway | NK 16 |
| Finland | FM 10 | Portugal | E300 |
| France | FF 13 | Saudi Arabia | SR 8.50 |
| Germany | DM 4 | Spain | P 300 |
| Greece | DR 400 | Sweden | SK 19 |
| Italy | L 3,000 | Switzerland | SF 3.30 |

# Time to end charade of the peace process

EDWARD SAID'S article, Martin Woollacott's comment and your editorial (October 6) sum up accurately the current status of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

While the Zionist mythology of Palestine being "a land without people for a people without land" is exposed for the lie that it is, the notion of Vladimir Jabotinsky, followed by Binyamin Netanyahu, that the Arabs would recognise Israel's strength and their own weakness and negotiate accordingly, is fulfilled totally by Yasser Arafat's folly. In signing the Oslo agreements and offering total capitulation, Arafat legitimised Israel's illegal occupation and the negation of the rights of the Palestinian people.

It is time for the Europeans and the rest of the world to come forward and put an end to this charade that President Clinton calls the "peace process". What must become obvious to Netanyahu, Arafat and Clinton is that peace and security for Israel will not be achieved without a modicum of justice for the Palestinians in their own land.

*Ismail Zayid,*
*Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada*

TO EDWARD SAID'S excellent article "Palestinians vent fury of the dispossessed", I can only add the fruit of the Australian experience: the dispossessed do not disappear, and they do not forget.

Israel and Australia were each founded on the doctrine that the inhabitants of the country have no rights in it; each must, one day, deal honestly with its victims. Heaven speed that day for us both!

*Clifford Story,*
*West Ryde, NSW, Australia*

IN HIS penetrating analysis (Netanyahu answers to call of the dead, September 8) Glenn Frankel states that Netanyahu "is in many ways an old-fashioned Jewish nationalist who believes that Jews can rely only on themselves for survival". I have opposed the continuing occupation of the "territories" since 1967 and am a "Peace Now!" supporter, but I too believe that we should rely on ourselves for survival.

In May 1967, Egypt's Nasser, encouraged by the Soviet Union, demanded of the UN an immediate withdrawal of the International Force guarding the Strait of Tiran, at the entrance to the Bay of Eilat (or Aqaba), under an agreement reached in 1957. The UN secretary-general, U Thant, agreed at once, thus enabling Egypt to close that bay to Israeli shipping.

No maritime power protested against this closure of an international waterway. Britain, France and even the US told Israel in effect that it had to fend for itself. De Gaulle even imposed an arms embargo on Israel. Egypt had already signed a military pact with Syria. Jordan and Iraq followed suit and all the other Arab states approved. Israel felt completely encircled.

The three weeks preceding June 5, 1967, are for me still a traumatic experience. I felt that Israel was being abandoned by the West while an ominous, sabre-rattling military alliance was being formed around it. I did not know, of course, that on the morning of June 5 our air force would destroy on the ground almost the entire Egyptian air force, in effect winning the war which broke out that day.

*Michael Borger,*
*Raman, Jerusalem, Israel*



## Last chance for a real clean-up

YOUR plea for a Tribunal of Inquiry into the Hamilton case is unlikely either to be heeded by the Government or to take place within the short time-scale you advocate (Comment, October 13). Nor is it evident that the English judicial process is currently any cleaner than its parliamentary machinery.

Very senior judges were complicit with the Government in changing Article 9 of the Bill of Rights and thus in further delaying a resolution. The Committee on Standards and Privileges was created when both of its predecessor bodies (the Committees of Privileges and of Members' Interests) had lost credibility because they were operating as functions of the government whips. The new committee should now be given a (last) chance to make parliamentary self-regulation work. It has precedents for both impartiality and robust action.

In 1947, when a Labour MP, Garry Allighan, patently lied to the Privileges Committee, he was expelled from Parliament by the House of Commons itself. If the Prime Minister really wants the matter resolved quickly, he should ask Sir Gordon Downey and Tony Newton to study the Allighan precedent and bring a motion from the committee before the House so that it can resolve the matter.

*Christopher Price,*
*London*

THE Neil Hamilton/Ian Greer affair reminds me of Trollope, John Major's favourite novelist, and the advice given in his The Way We Live Now to the great swindler Melmotte: "First get into Parliament, and then spend a little money on the Conservative side and there was no knowing what honours might not be achieved by money scattered with a liberal hand." Of course, that was pure fiction.

*Andrew Anderson,*
*Edinburgh*

WHY is your newspaper persecuting that nice Mr Greer? The man's a saint; a veritable Father Christmas and Robin Hood rolled into one. Since he gives money away to MPs without asking anything in return will he extend this to non-MPs? I will promise to do nothing if he sends me cash; a sort of set-aside for commoners.

*R E Stubbs,*
*Maidstone, Kent*

## Putting exams to the test

WITH reference to "Britain's painful dilemma over schools" (September 29), I wish to express my amazement at the gross generalisation contained in the test. John Gray states categorically that "all European countries apart from Britain have gymnasia systems in which pupils with different abilities go to different schools". This is just one example of a point he makes with which I do not agree. As I work in the French state school system and also have direct personal contact with procedures through my two children, one of whom passed this year from primary to secondary school, I can safely state that no selective examination such as 11-plus exists and all children have the right to attend either a state or private secondary school knowing that the standards in both are equally high.

Similarly in Spain, children go on to secondary education without having to undergo any selective examinations. Despite the fact that Spain and France have elected rightwing governments some vestiges of socialism still survive. The sub-heading for Mr Gray's article should perhaps have been: "When will UK politicians proclaim the virtues of financing state schools adequately like the Europeans instead of, by default, maintaining an age-old caste system?"

*K M Osborn,*
*St Gaudens, France*

IN RESPONSE to John Gray's otherwise excellent article on selective education, selection at 11-plus need not be "wasteful and cruel".

During the 1968-69 academic year, two of my children had the good fortune to attend one of the "village colleges" in Cambridgeshire while I was on sabbatical leave. Based on 11-plus results, that school was sent annually two forms of grammar-school aspirants and three forms of students judged to be better adapted to the comprehensive regime. The school was justly proud of its success in upgrading the top comprehensive form to grammar-school achievement levels at the end of the five-year programme. What is essential is that provision be made for late developers to catch up.

*Christopher Nicholl,*
*Gloucester, Ontario, Canada*

## Don't touch World Service

THE biggest argument against John Birt's "reforms" of BBC World Service radio is to watch BBC World Television.

The news is smug, anglocentric and shows all the flashy concerns for packaging and presentation that makes British domestic news so unwatchable. As for all the magazine programmes it carries — Road Show, Travel Show, Clothes Show, Food and Wine — they serve as a grindingly repetitive reminder of the crass values that have gripped Britain and British TV in the last 15 years. I've cancelled my subscription and shall go back to listening to crackly old BBC World Service radio until BBC World Television can match it for intelligent, informative programming.

Please get the message, Birt: leave the World Service alone. It is outstanding and should not be touched.

*Sarah Devonshire and D McQueen,*
*Ibri, Oman*

I WOULD like to pick a bone with John Durst (September 15) about Birt's vision of the future. I mean, does Durst live on a remote mountain top or what? I live in the north of Italy and have done for several years. It is news to me that "most phones still use pulse dialling" since the telephone company stopped supplying them years ago. My Guardian Weekly arrives punctually every week and my electricity does not go off every time there's a thunderstorm.

Why do people insist on painting this ridiculous picture of Italy as a country stuck in the Middle Ages?

*Halina West,*
*Salsomaggiore Terme, Italy*

## Briefly

WITH reference to the sale of Ethiopia's navy (September 22): Eritrea engaged in a bitter 30-year war (1961-91) with Ethiopia during which some 150,000 Eritreans died, 100,000 were disabled or orphaned and a quarter of the population was forced to flee the country. Against all odds, Eritrea defeated the Ethiopian forces and, in 1993, 99.81 per cent of its voting population voted for independence. This historic struggle should certainly not be reported as Ethiopia "allowing Eritrea's independence".

*David J Hancock,*
*Anseba Region, Eritrea*

AS I follow the news, I am reminded of the old (pre-PC) proverb: The stature of a man can be measured by the strength of his enemies. I'm uncertain whether this says more about Bill Clinton or Saddam Hussein.

*David Hodgson,*
*Vienna, Austria*

THE mother of the putative future sovereign is Princess Diana. That is one overwhelming reason for abolishing the monarchy. Another is that the Prince of Wales is the father.

*J M Y Simpson,*
*Fortaleza, Brazil*

THE recently reported discovery of 10 tons of "bomb-making material" in London (Raids foil IRA bomb attacks, September 29) raises a question: the material is presumably ammonium nitrate which is, again presumably, produced as a fertiliser. How are such quantities apparently readily available, and why is it used as a fertiliser when other safer sources of nitrogen are available?

*D S Rickard,*
*Ashburton, New Zealand*

THE RESURRECTION of Wensleydale cheese (Dales cheesemakers scent success, October 6) is heartening. I wonder how much the recovery is due to Wallace's Oscar-winning predilection for it.

*Peter Borrell,*
*Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany*

YOU recently reported (September 15) that Chris Boardman has become "the first man to go beyond 56km" in 1 hour. A qualifier should be added: "on a conventional unstreamlined bicycle". Streamlined bicycles can of course travel much faster. The current record listed by the International Human Powered Vehicle Association is 75.57km. And that record will be superseded when Lars Teutenberg's new distance of 78.04km is officially recognised.

*Angus Cameron,*
*Edmonton, Alberta, Canada*

The Guardian Weekly
October 20, 1996 Vol 155 No 16

Annual subscription rates are £49 United Kingdom; £55 Europe inc. Eire, USA and Canada; £63 Rest of World.
Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.
Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242.0985); e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk.





# Afghan allies close in on Taliban militia

**Jonathan Steele in Bamyan and agencies in Kabul**

PROLONGED shooting shattered the calm of the Afghan capital on Monday as the Taliban militia was pushed back to within three miles of Kabul, which it captured so easily last month.

Tracer rounds were visible across the sky, and anti-aircraft guns, small arms, machine-guns and sporadic artillery could be heard. No immediate explanation for the shooting could be sought during the curfew. It could be a sign that guerrillas loyal to Ahmed Shah Massoud, the former defence minister, have infiltrated the capital and are planning to ambush Taliban strongholds.

But a spokesman for Commander Massoud said: "Our forces have not yet entered the capital — they are 2.5 miles to the north."

The Taliban suffered a serious setback during the day when one of its senior commanders, Mullah Abdul Ahad, was killed in fighting north of Kabul.

The scale of the fighting was indicated by the Pakistan-based Afghan Islamic Press, which quoted witnesses in the eastern city of Jalalabad as saying many Taliban casualties had been ferried to the hospital there.

"We have seen lots of wounded and there are not enough beds for them, so they are lying in the corridors," one witness said. "Lightly wounded fighters are being discharged, but at least 15 seriously wounded cases have been transferred to Pakistan."

The Taliban have lost control of the two main towns on the road north of Kabul and are under pressure at the Bagram air base, north-east of the capital.

The latest military developments will have encouraged the three leaders of Afghanistan's opposition armies. On Monday they hammered out plans for the next stage of their advance, at their second meeting since forming an alliance against the Taliban last week.

The rise in morale among the anti-Taliban forces is remarkable. On a fearsome two-day drive up into the Hindu Kush, we encountered groups of soldiers eager to drive the Taliban out. "I want to get rid of them. They are being supported by Pakistan," said a member of a pro-Massoud force of 70 men in the small town of Doab.

The Taliban's customary white flag still flew in the desperately poor settlement, which has no electricity or running water. The Taliban left at the weekend, during their retreat from the north.

The same anti-Taliban sentiments could be heard from bus passengers staying in Doab overnight. Their "hotel" consisted of two large rooms with a stove, one each for men and women. Most passengers were Uzbek and Tajik refugees, escaping a clampdown by the largely Pashtun Taliban militia.

The bumpy dirt-road winds through deep gorges and crosses pontoon bridges which passengers sometimes have to help rebuild by dropping large rocks into gaps in the rough surface. Until the Salang pass was built, this was the only north-south road across the mountains dividing Afghanistan. Ten miles along it, the rusting carcasses of Soviet tanks rest in the river bed. None penetrated further.

In the wide Bamyan valley, 8,000ft above sea level, the road enters the heartland of the Hazara people, an ancient Shia community almost wiped out by Genghis Khan in the 13th century. Abdul Karim Khalili, their leader, was one of the trio of anti-Taliban leaders who met this week, along with Cmdr Massoud and General Abdul Rashid Dostam, the Uzbek warlord. Gen Dostam recognised the ousted government on Monday, but held back from joining a military alliance with its forces around Kabul.

The Taliban were driven from Bamyan last weekend. Mr Khalili's forces now control Ghorband, a key town on the hills above the main road to the capital.

Known as Hizbe Wahadat, Mr Khalili's forces sided with the mojahedin armies that took over Kabul in 1992 when the government of Mohammed Najibullah fell. They later broke with Cmdr Massoud. Faced with the greater threat of the Taliban, they have buried their enmity to become a Massoud ally.

Sitting cross-legged on a carpeted floor during lunch, Kurban Ali Erfani, Hizbe Wahadat's second-in-command, told us why. With him was one of the 56 Hazara ayatollahs. As Shias, the Hazara fear the militant Sunni fundamentalism of the Taliban. "We accept women working and girls going to school. We don't want to withdraw from the world," Mr Erfani said.

Hizbe Wahadat's alliance with Cmdr Massoud and Gen Dostam deprives the Taliban of their last potential ally. Every fighting group in Afghanistan is ranged against them.

Back into future, page 23

Burqa-clad widows, whose husbands have died in the fighting, wait for food at a distribution centre of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Kabul PHOTOGRAPH: JOHN MOORE

## Bosnia bill is $5 billion and rising

**David Fairhall**

THE Nato-led peacekeeping forces in Bosnia went on a higher security footing last week in a tense area of northern Bosnia.

Serb police in the disputed village of Jusici threatened Nato troops with automatic weapons, and Muslim villagers threatened to kill a group of Russian peacekeepers unless the Serbs freed three Muslims arrested on Monday.

Muslims began returning to the Serb-held village last month as part of the Bosnian peace process. It is one of three villages where 10 houses were blown up last week.

The daily accumulation of such incidents and the confrontations between Bosnia's political leaders led the international mediator Carl Bildt to call for peacekeeping troops to stay on until 1998.

There are about 53,000 Nato peacekeepers in Bosnia. Their original mandate expires on December 20 and no firm decision has been taken to keep them on after that date.

In the 12 months to the end of December, according to latest estimates, the international operation will have cost $5 billion, excluding the cost of civilian reconstruction. Half the military bill will be paid by the United States; Britain's share is $450 million.

None of it can be recovered because the Bosnian operations are no longer sponsored by the United Nations.

Nor is the account closed, since withdrawal of the I-For peace implementation force was postponed until the spring of 1997 to cover local elections in November, and the follow-on force is likely to stay for at least a year.

## When silence is golden

FRENCH journalists went on a 24-hour strike on Tuesday and refused to report government business in protest against plans to withdraw perks that gives them a 30 per cent special deduction on their declared earnings. Newspaper proprietors are backing them.

The journalists are among a group of 100 professions who enjoy tax privileges, but the prime minister, Alain Juppé, said in a statement that the government would not back down.

Rightwing MPs lodged an amendment to the government's proposal to do away with the special deduction on earnings. Support for the amendment among government deputies is so overwhelming that it is expected to be carried easily.

Because the tax concession allows them to offer low wages, newspaper owners have an interest in maintaining the hidden subsidy. — *Reuter*

# Belgian fury at child sex case sacking

**Stephen Bates in Brussels**

BELGIUM'S justice system was under renewed public assault this week after a much-praised local magistrate investigating the paedophile scandal was removed from the case for accepting a plate of spaghetti paid for by campaigners against child abuse.

Jean-Marc Connerotte was ordered to stand down by the Cour de Cassation — the highest court in Belgium — amid widespread public demonstrations in his support, after lawyers acting for the leading suspects claimed his impartiality had been compromised.

The Belgian justice minister on Monday pledged that the ruling would not hinder efforts to solve the case. "The work is going to continue, to get to the bottom of the investigation," Stefaan de Clerck told Belgian television. "I will even consider if it is possible to designate a second investigating magistrate to reinforce the team."

This is the second prominent case from which Mr Connerotte has been removed. Three years ago he was taken off an investigation into the murder of the former deputy prime minister André Cools, just as he seemed about to crack the case. The apparent reason was rivalry between judicial districts.

Oscar Stranard, the president of the tribunal of five judges, said: "The decision was made given that the impartiality of magistrates is fundamental."

The ruling occurred despite intense pressure, including an appeal from the prime minister, Jean-Luc Dehaene, for the judges to be "creative" and tolerant, and a petition signed by more than 300,000 Belgians.

Thousands attended demonstrations last weekend, and the Belgian railway network has promised to subsidise the fares of those attending mass demonstrations this weekend.

The ruling revived criticism of the judiciary for failing to make progress in high-profile investigations.

There was widespread outrage that Mr Connerotte, who has become a national hero, should be dropped at the behest of lawyers acting for the reviled Marc Dutroux and Michel Nihoul. The parents of the four young girls allegedly abducted and murdered by Mr Dutroux and his associates demonstrated with a crowd of 700 people outside the court.

There were chants of "assassins, assassins", as lawyers entered the building, and banners saying: "For the sake of our children, judge wisely."

Paul Marchal, the father of a teenage girl kidnapped and killed by the gang, said: "It is the beginning of the end. Justice is dead in Belgium."

Gino Russo, the father of an eight-year-old girl who starved to death in a cell in Mr Dutroux's basement, said: "This decision spits on our daughters' graves."

Mr Connerotte was removed after he attended a fund-raising dinner organised by a group campaigning against child abuse last month, even though he had to prepare files outlining both sides of the case.

The court ruled that the rest of the investigating team — including Mr Connerotte's close colleague, the prosecutor Michel Bourlet — should remain in place.

## China leans on dissidents

HARSH treatment of a leading Chinese dissident has been revealed as Beijing takes new steps to tighten political controls, *writes John Gittings.*

The veteran protester Wei Jingsheng is in an unheated cell with six common criminals who keep watch over him 24 hours a day. He is only allowed to write self-criticisms and one letter a month.

According to his sister Wei Ling, who was allowed to visit him last week, Mr Wei's cellmates harass him to stop him sleeping, and inspect what he writes. She said his spirits had reached an "unprecedented low" and that he had been refused medical treatment.

Meanwhile Wang Lingyun, the mother of a dissident charged with plotting against the government, has said she will defend her son in court. She said the charge against Wang Dan, a leader of the 1898 democracy movement, did not stand up.

Washington Post, page 15

# Anti-Baghdad Kurds rise from defeat

Chris Nuttall in Ankara and David Hearst in Beirut

IN AN offensive that has thrown the Western-protected Kurdish enclave of northern Iraq into renewed turmoil, anti-Baghdad Kurdish rebels on Sunday recaptured the eastern city of Sulaymaniyah, only a month after losing it to a Kurdish faction then aligned with President Saddam Hussein.

By dawn, Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) was in complete control of the city, after the withdrawal of Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), which had captured it with President Saddam's help.

Only a month ago it looked as if the PUK had suffered a massive, even terminal, defeat. Sulaymaniyah, Mr Talabani's political stronghold, had fallen with barely a shot fired. For the first time, virtually the whole of "liberated" Kurdistan came under a single leadership. An era of relative stability seemed to have dawned.

With the reconquest of the city, Mr Talabani has achieved an astonishing reversal. But unless he secures the kind of swift and overwhelming victory that his rival briefly did, he will plunge the enclave back into chaos.

On Monday the two factions were engaged in heavy fighting near Irbil in northern Iraq, reportedly with Iraqi troops and Iranian Revolutionary Guards fighting alongside the rival *peshmerga* forces.

Continuing its startling reversal of fortune, the PUK swept on to retake two more towns from KDP forces, United Nations officials and other sources in Iraqi Kurdistan reported. The sources said Mr Talabani's PUK guerrillas had recaptured Degala, the last big town before Irbil, and Koi Sanjaq after taking control of the strategic Dokan Dam area, the site of a big hydroelectric power station.

Driven into the mountains or across the border to Iran after their initial defeat on August 31 by the KDP and President Saddam's forces, the PUK peshmergas have swept back to the outskirts of Irbil.

"We have no plans at present to retake Irbil, because it's surrounded by Iraqi tanks, but we'll leave that to the people of Irbil," Mr Talabani told the London newspaper al-Hayat. He said the bodies of two Iraqi officers were found with those of more than 350 KDP members after the weekend fighting.

Iraqi forces are positioned just to the south of Irbil, but so far the government has not ordered them into battle, perhaps fearing another aggressive response from the United States.

According to Sami Abdurrahman, a senior KDP political leader: "More than 15,000 Iranian Revolutionary Guards have taken part in the latest attacks, with heavy weapons, Katyusha rockets and cannons."

The PUK and Iran have issued strong denials. A foreign ministry spokesman in Tehran said Iranian forces were not involved.

Both Kurdish factions appeared to have exaggerated the involvement of outside forces.

## The Week

**NEARLY 20,000 Burundian Hutu refugees fled their camp in eastern Zaire after it was attacked by armed men, believed to be Tutsis, who killed four of them, aid sources said.**

**SUPPORT for Austria's ruling Social Democrats slumped to an all-time low in a European Parliament election, giving them 29 per cent of the votes and six seats. The far-right Freedom Party soared to a a record high of 27.6 per cent, also winning six seats. The conservative People's Party got 29.6 per cent and seven seats.**

**KUWAIT'S opposition has lost its domination of parliament, with pro-government deputies apparently securing a majority in election last week. Of some 700,000 Kuwaitis, only about 107,000 males had the right to vote.**

**THE ALGERIAN president, Lamine Zeroual, announced that a planned referendum on changing the constitution, to ban political parties based on religion and confirm Islam as Algeria's state religion, will be held on November 28.**

**THE US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, was given a cool reception by East African leaders when he met the presidents of Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya in Arusha on his first visit to sub-Saharan Africa.**

Washington Post, page

**AT GARDANNE, in France, Communists and extreme rightwing candidates humiliated mainstream parties by winning the first round of a byelection to replace Bernard Tapie. The two now face each other in the run-off on October 20.**

**MUSLIM authorities in Jerusalem said they would open a prayer hall under the al-Aqsa mosque, prompting Israeli protests about changes at the site Jews revere as the Temple Mount.**

**THE premier of the violence-torn Papua New Guinea island of Bougainville, Theodore Miriung, was shot dead, robbing the island of one of its strongest voices for peace.**

**NORDIC justice ministers are to take joint action to halt the bikers' war in which rival gangs have killed and maimed one another.**

**BRITAIN rejected out of hand European Commission plans for sweeping cuts in its fishing fleet in an effort to combat the depletion of fish stocks.**

**TURKEY plans to spend $150 billion over the next 30 years on defence — roughly double its current expenditure on what is already the second largest military force in Nato.**

# Hope offered on malaria

Tim Radford

**SCIENTISTS working in the South Pacific think they may have discovered a natural immunisation against malaria.**

**Infection with the mild form of the parasite very early in life might act as a vaccine against contracting the fatal form of the disease later, they reported in the science journal Nature last week.**

**The discovery, by scientists from the Institute of Molecular Medicine in Oxford and Monash University in Australia, suggests that at least one "faulty" gene may have evolved to protect against a malarial parasite which kills more than 2 million children in the Tropics each year.**

**The discovery could take the long search for a malaria vaccine in a new direction.**

**Tom Williams of Oxford and his colleagues made a study of children in Vanuatu, many of whom had the genetic disease alpha-thalassaemia. This is a mild version of an inherited blood disorder common in the Mediterranean and Africa, and carriers are thought less likely to die of malaria.**

**Dr Williams expected his studies to show that children with the condition would be better protected from the often lethal malaria *Plasmodium falciparum*. He also found that such children had more episodes of non-severe illness in the first two years of life. "Our work suggests . . . that it doesn't stop you catching the disease, but it may stop you dying from it," he said.**



Ecuador's President Abdala Bucaram launches a career as a pop singer, performing to a packed concert hall in Guayaquil last week. The president, who was elected in August after campaigning as El Loco (The Madman), has just released an album called The Madman in Love PHOTO: ANDRES RENDON

# Nobel laureate hails Israeli nuclear spy

Derek Brown in Tel Aviv

THE Nobel peace laureate Joseph Rotblat this week hailed Mordechai Vanunu, the Israeli nuclear technician jailed as a spy, as a whistle-blower who had helped rather than harmed his country.

"What he has done has not significantly harmed the state of Israel," said Professor Rotblat, who helped to develop the first atomic bomb and later established the anti-nuclear Pugwash movement.

He won the Nobel peace prize last year. The joint winner of the previous year's prize was Shimon Peres, commonly regarded as the father of Israel's secret nuclear programme, who was prime minister when Vanunu was illegally abducted and jailed. If Israel had any use for nuclear weapons, Prof Rotblat said, it was to deter potential attackers. "To act as a deterrent it is important for enemies to know about the weapons. Mordechai Vanunu contributed to that knowledge."

Speaking at the first conference in Israel by the movement seeking to free Vanunu, he appealed to the government and people of Israel.

Vanunu, who worked in the nuclear centre at Dimona, on the northern fringe of the Negev desert, told a British newspaper in 1986 that Israel had secretly developed a nuclear capacity and had built an arsenal of 200 weapons.

He was lured from London to Rome by an Israeli agent called Cindy. He was kidnapped in Rome and shipped to Israel in a crate.

Vanunu has served 10 years of his 18-year sentence in isolation, in a 6ft by 9ft cell. He is believed to be the world's longest-serving prisoner in solitary confinement.

# Malaysian leader sees off party rivals

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Kuala Lumpur

THE Malaysian prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, is likely to reshuffle his cabinet and consolidate his hold on power after fending off a possible leadership challenge.

The triennial assembly of his United Malays' National Organisation (Umno), which ended last week, has curbed the advance of his deputy and acknowledged heir, Anwar Ibrahim.

Although triumphant in the elections last year, Dr Mahathir — who at 71 has been running Malaysia for 15 years — has come under sharp criticism from the Malay community for "selling out" on racially and culturally sensitive issues.

Since the 1993 assembly of Umno, which dominates Malaysian politics, he has also seemed under pressure from Mr Anwar.

Mr Anwar's followers and associates have increasingly moved into posts in Umno, whose president and vice-president become prime minister and deputy. But this year's assembly has checked the trend. Candidates identified with Mr Anwar won the leadership of the party's youth and women's organisations.

But Dr Mahathir then delivered an emotional speech, tearfully appealing to the 1,800 delegates to fight growing corruption which, he said, threatened to destroy the party that had ruled Malaysia since independence.

"Our [Malay] race will collapse. This nation will revert to its former state of poverty, chaos and instability," he warned. "The foreigners . . . will laugh at us."

Cynics note that Malaysia's so-called money politics has thrived for years, bringing the growing convergence of political clout and economic muscle.

But Dr Mahathir's appeal seems to have been effective. Shortly afterwards the delegates voted for the party's vice-presidents and its policy-making 25-member supreme council. "A lot of people changed their voting lists after his speech," one delegate reported. They ditched a prominent vice-president closely associated with Mr Anwar. The foreign minister Ahmad Badawi, considered "Mr Clean" and an ally of Dr Mahathir's, took his place.



# South Africa reels as Malan walks free

David Beresford in Johannesburg

MBUSI NTULI said outside the Durban supreme court on Friday last week: "South African law has been like this and it's always going to be like this; murderers go free."

The outcome of what has been described as one of South Africa's trials of the century — the acquittal of top military commanders of the apartheid era over the massacre of a priest, five women and seven children in a Durban township on January 21, 1987 — left most of the country in shock.

Mr Ntuli had a special reason for bitterness. His father was the priest, and his three sisters were among those killed in the attack on the house of his brother Victor Ntuli — an anti-apartheid activist — in KwaMakutha township. This massacre formed the basis of the prosecution case against 16 defendants.

There were some, of course, who were celebrating. Beaming broadly outside the court, General Magnus Malan — the highest-ranking apartheid official to face charges for his work in combating opponents of white rule — said the verdict was a victory for truth and democracy.

"While our country is staggering under waves of crime, corruption and stress, an important event took place here today," he said. "All those who believe in democracy can gain hope for the future from this. Today the truth has prevailed."

Gen Malan and his co-accused had denied operating death squads which, the prosecution argued, carried out the 1987 massacre.

Declaring that "our hearts go out to the next-of-kin of the victims of KwaMakutha", Gen Malan — who as head of the armed forces, and then defence minister, led one of the most ruthless killing machines in Africa — offered "a special word of thanks to President [Nelson] Mandela; we are informed that it was due to him that we were able to defend ourselves in this court of law."

Mr Mandela reacted to the verdict with rectitude, issuing a statement accepting the finding and emphasising his respect and confidence in the judiciary. "Without confidence in the courts, this society will degenerate into private vengeance and extra-legal activities," the president said.

His statement was clearly aimed at preventing black anger welling up in the wake of the acquittals. "Judicial findings, based on cold and dispassionate analysis of the evidence . . . must be respected even — or especially — by those who are aggrieved by these findings," Mr Mandela said.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, commenting at hearings near Cape Town of his Truth Commission investigating the excesses of the apartheid era, spoke more directly to the mood of the townships. Court verdicts, he pointed out, say "very little about moral guilt . . . The court acquits because the evidence is not sufficient to prove beyond a reasonable doubt. But you know as you walk free out of the court that people know that you did this. You still have to face your God."

In a joint statement issued later with his deputy chairman, Alex Boraine, Archbishop Tutu said the court's decision only showed that the Truth Commission "offers a better prospect of establishing the truth about our past than criminal trials".

And there was a word of warning in the statement for the 16 acquitted: the outcome of the case should bring no reassurance to perpetrators of apartheid-era atrocities. The Truth Commission had not taken a decision whether to investigate the events leading to the Malan trial. "But as with any other investigations, if we were to go ahead we would not hesitate to invite or subpoena those involved in this trial, including those who have been acquitted."

The trial was a battleground for Mr Mandela's ruling African National Congress, and the Zulu-dominated Inkatha Freedom Party of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — elements of which were co-opted by the 1980s apartheid regime to combat the ANC. About 100 Inkatha supporters danced and sang outside the courthouse as police looked on. But Inkatha's secretary-general, Ziba Jiyane, accused the KwaZulu-Natal attorney-general who prosecuted the case, Tim McNally, of succumbing to political pressure to proceed on the basis of insufficient evidence.

Grounds for this accusation were strengthened by Justice Jan Hugo, who complained in his two-day judgment that witnesses who could have corroborated the state's case against Gen Malan and his co-defendants had not been called.

The state's case was heavily dependent on two key witnesses, both of whom were involved in the training of the "Caprivi 200" — a group of Zulus alleged to have been responsible for the KwaMakutha massacre who had been trained at a secret camp run by South African military intelligence in Namibia.

Captain Johan Opperman — previously in charge of covert training of members of the Angolan rebel movement, Unita — was a commander at the camp who claimed to have passed on orders for the KwaMakutha operation, and Sergeant Andre Cloete testified that he took 10 Caprivi trainees through "dry runs" for the massacre.

But both men were accomplices and their evidence needed corroboration. Other witnesses were available — notably Daluxolo Luthuli, the commander of the Caprivi 200 — but were not called.

Members of the Investigation Task Board, the government-appointed unit that investigated the Malan case, were nicknamed the "Untouchables", having been recruited in the belief that they were beyond the influence of the police and military officers they were hunting.

The key member of the unit, Colonel Frank Dutton — celebrated for his success in nailing police officers responsible for another massacre in the province — is now on attachment to the War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

The frustration of the Untouchables at the outcome of the Malan case was evident in a statement they issued last week. "The court has acquitted the accused in accordance with long-accepted legal principles and we must respect the finding," they said. But their investigations had "revealed clear evidence of hit squads operating in the region of KwaZulu-Natal over the last 10 years."

The task force had confirmed the existence of the Caprivi training camp and the incorporation of many of its graduates into the police — some of whom had subsequently been involved in hit-squad activities. It had produced "prima-facie" evidence that "high-ranking officers" had been involved in the KwaMakutha massacre.

The court had accepted that the massacre had been carried out by trainees recruited by Inkatha and trained in the Caprivi under the supervision of Capt Opperman and Sgt Cloete of the South African Defence Force's "directorate of special tasks". The judge had accepted that AK47s used as the murder weapons were procured by the military.

The case had "supplied an insight into the operations of the security apparatus of the state in the 1980s", the Untouchables' statement said. "Much of this evidence stands uncontested. It is often said that courtrooms are not the best places for the exposure of the full picture."

The statement said the ITB would report on the wider information at its disposal "in due course".

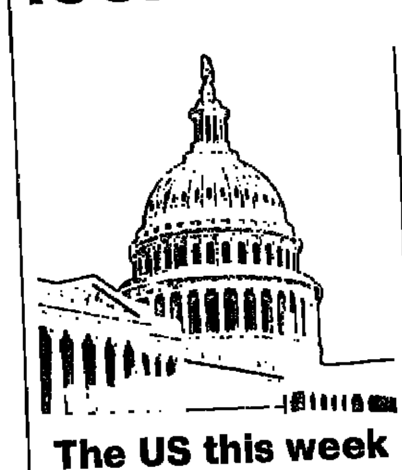
Mr McNally wished the accused well. "Justice was seen to be done by the whole world," he said.

● A former South African spy accused of planning the murder in 1986 of the Swedish prime minister, Olof Palme, has been detained in Angola as investigations continue into his business activities. Craig Williamson last month denied claims by a former apartheid assassin, Colonel Eugene de Kock, that he had been involved in Palme's murder.

Comment, page 12

General Magnus Malan arrives at the Durban court last week for the last day of the trial PHOTOGRAPH: MARK WING

# Forget face-offs, look at the funding



## The US this week

Martin Walker

JIM LEHRER, the host of Newshour on public television, which is the most relentlessly serious of the current affairs shows, has a lot to answer for. As moderator of last week's presidential and vice-presidential debates, he brought the high-minded civilities of the old BBC to what might otherwise have been a vulgar brawl. The politicians were on notice to behave themselves, and they did, which may explain why the public has been tuning out this election.

Billed as the first presidential debate of the 21st century, the confrontation between Vice-President Al Gore and his Republican challenger, Jack Kemp, was less watched for its impact on this year's election race than for its foretaste of 2000. Each man will end this election season as his party's front-runner for the next contest, a status awarded by precedent and party protocol.

"It is of limited use to try to predict what could happen in either party four years from now, and I'm not spending any time on that," Gore said. "The old saying that six months is a long time in politics is applicable here."

The vice-president's protestation would be more convincing were it not for the "Gore-2000" and "Twelve More Years" signs now appearing on the campaign trail, and the way that Clinton has boosted Gore with an unprecedentedly high profile and workload. The vice-president runs the "re-inventing government" project of slimming down the bureaucracy, and supervises policy towards Russia and the environment.

The confrontation in St Petersburg, Florida, also carried an edge of personal drama, based on a curious reversal of styles. Kemp is loose and ebullient, a working-class hero who first made his name on the football field and is at home in the inner cities. He preaches the promise of American opportunity with Democratic fervour. Gore is the son of a senator and a product of élite private schools. Despite intensive coaching by his handlers, he still appears as stiff and self-controlled as a Republican banker.

This reflects something fundamental in the way the parties are changing and re-positioning their bases in the evolving US class system. The Democratic party is moving beyond its old urban roots to the suburbs and the new élites of the yuppie overclass, whom Clinton has courted so assiduously. The Republican party has grown beyond the country club and business traditions to become also the party of the populist South and religious right.

These trends will intensify if Gore and Kemp do emerge as their parties' respective standard bearers. The real political drama of the next four years could hinge on their success in consolidating their current opportunity. The Gore candidacy would solidify Clinton's attempt to move the Democrats to the electable centre and the suburban middle class. This will mean facing down the traditional Democratic leaders in the Congress — from the protectionist Congressman Dick Gephardt to the radicals who look to Jesse Jackson.

The Kemp candidacy would signal a Republican party ever less content to allow the Democrats to hold their electoral base in the cities, the ethnic minorities and among blue-collar white voters. A passionate supply-sider who believes that the magical growth effects of tax cuts will tame the budget deficit, Kemp is determined to fight for the black and Hispanic vote on equal terms, preaching free-market enterprise as the way out of the ghetto.

Thus the two proto-candidates of 2000 were even more cordial and mutually respectful than Clinton and Bob Dole had been. This explains the hair-tearing frustration of the Republicans, who are pleading with Dole and Kemp to take the gloves off while they still can, and slam Clinton with Whitewater, the FBI files scandal, Travelgate and all the other embarrassments that have enveloped the White House.

Dole is trying, in his own peculiar way — saying "this is about trust" four or five times in a paragraph when he gives his big daily campaign speech. But the media notices only when he says something silly, such as calling the president a "Bozo", American slang for a clown. The editorial pages have been graced with cartoons that show an angry clown using one of those expanding arms to plant a boxing glove on Dole's jaw, claiming this is unfair to the comic profession.

The Clinton administration certainly offers targets. The Republicans in Congress last week accused the president and senior members of his administration of lying, and have called for a full-scale criminal inquiry into the way top US officials secretly approved the smuggling of Iranian arms and supplies to the beleaguered Bosnian forces in 1994-95.

The Democrats on the special committee of inquiry, and the State Department, dismissed the charges as "political theatre", the performance timed for the last act of the election campaign. "What we have here is a public policy difference that has been turned into a political game," said the State Department spokesman, Nicholas Burns.

The issue hinges on a meeting between Croatia's President Franjo Tudjman, and the US ambassador to Zagreb, Peter Galbraith, son of the economist, at which Tudjman was persuaded that Washington wanted him to let Iranian arms shipments pass through Croat-held territory to the Bosnians. The Croats creamed off up to a half the supplies.

At the time, the US was publicly still supporting the United Nations arms embargo, which forbade arms shipments to any of the combatants. The report from the Republicans on the House international relations committee accuses Clinton and his aides of "intentionally misleading the Congress and the American people", in the pursuit of a policy that allowing the fundamentalist Muslims of Iran to gain "an unprecedented foothold in Europe".



Nice guys . . . Bob Dole and Bill Clinton agree in their first TV debate that they like one another PHOTOGRAPH: JIM BOURG

The decision not to block the Iranian arms shipments was "by far the best of the policy options available", the Democrats on the committee said in a minority report. "No laws were broken, no wrongdoing occurred, no covert actions took place, no US interests were harmed," they went on, concluding that the Iranian arms supplies helped to save the Bosnian government at a critical time.

THE CLINTON campaign may also be vulnerable for its fundraising success. In becoming the most effective money-raising machine in history, it may have broken the law. Common Cause, a lobby group seeking to clean up the stables, last week demanded the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate what it called "the most massive violations of the campaign finance laws since Watergate".

One law, which has had a big impact, distinguishes between "hard money", spent by a politician for his own re-election, and "soft" money, used for more general purposes such as voter education and party building. So trade unions could put out TV ads to educate the voters about workers' rights, and big business could screen ads about too much government regulation.

This year, Republicans and Democrats have driven convoys of lorries through these loopholes, using soft money to make and screen ads that are party political broadcasts in all but name. The Democrats have spent $34 million on ads hailing Clinton for stopping the Republican "extremists" from wrecking Medicare. The Republicans have spent $14 million on reverential biographic ads of Dole that carefully do not use the magic words "vote for Dole".

Common Cause will not get much of a legal hearing before the election. But it is interesting to explore the sources of this soft money; much comes from overseas, from Indonesia and South Korea in particular.

It is illegal to take even soft money from foreigners, so last month the Clinton campaign hurriedly had to refund $250,000 from one generous South Korean businessmen. But there seem to be a lot of well-heeled Asians about with green cards that make them legally resident aliens, and they are all burning to give Clinton money.

His assiduous promotion of global free trade doubtless explains their loyalty. But the story really goes back to Arkansas in the late 1970s, when Mochtar Riady, an Indonesian tycoon and banker of Chinese ancestry, began to do business with the Stephens Group of Little Rock, the biggest US investment house outside Wall Street. Riady's Lippo group and the Stephens group bought the Arkansas-based Worthen bank, appointing Riady's son James as a director. The bank later became the cash cow that lent the 1992 Clinton campaign about $3 million at a crucial moment.

The Arkansas relationships blossomed. Riady was an honoured guest at Clinton's presidential inauguration. And when Clinton went to Indonesia in 1994 to sign the Asia-Pacific free-trade agreement, Riady was given the honour of a private meeting with the president, whose portrait hangs in the Lippo boardroom.

Much business was done through the Rose law firm, of which Hillary Clinton was a partner, along with Webster Hubbell, briefly Clinton's assistant attorney-general before going to jail for defrauding his clients. This has not deterred Riady, who hired Hubbell in that short period between his resigning from government and going to prison, on a retainer reported by the New York Times to be $250,000.

The Riady family gave $200,000 in soft money to Clinton's 1992 campaign. James Riady alone has provided $100,000 more this time. The group also provided the services of an employee, John Huang, who became deputy assistant secretary for international economic policy in Clinton's commerce department. Last year Huang left the administration to become vice-chairman of the Democratic Finance Committee, which credits him with raising more than $4 million, much of it from Asian sources.

All of this is legal, so long as the donors are properly documented US residents. The splendid gift of $425,000 from Arief Wiriandinata, a Riady employee whose profession is listed as "gardener", could thus be explained as no more than a heartening gesture of faith in the democracy of his adopted country.

"We have very good lawyers in the campaign committees who ensure that all fundraising is strictly in accordance with the letter of the law," Mike McCurry, the White House spokesman, assured me last week. Quite so. Perish the thought that eyebrows might be raised. But there is one aspect of this fundraising business that should give all true democrats (and Democrats) pause for thought.

TWO WEEKS ago, the Democratic pollster Celinda Lake completed an intriguing survey on behalf of the new radical think-tank, the Campaign for America's Future, run by Bob Borosage, Jesse Jackson's adviser. The full report makes intriguing reading as the first polling survey of the opinions of Americans who give more than $5,000 a year to political campaigns.

Campaign donors are a rare species. Only 800,000 Americans, less than one-third of 1 per cent of the population, give as much as $200 to political campaigns. The $5,000 fat cats are rarer still, and the Lake report surveyed 200, half of them Democrats and the other half Republicans. The survey found that their opinions are very different from those of most Americans. Two thirds of all voters say big business has "too much influence in Washington". But 55 per cent of the big donors say that big business has just enough influence, or not enough.

Some 83 per cent say "average working families have less security because corporations have become too greedy and care more about their profits than about being fair and loyal to their employees". Most big donors (52 per cent) disagree.

The biggest gap is over the vexed issue of free trade, which has become the talisman and the most important legacy of the Clinton administration, and which inspired the president's trip to Indonesia. Of the big donors, 65 per cent say free trade agreements create jobs, while 59 per cent of all voters say these trade pacts lose US jobs.

The gap between those who just vote in the ritual of US democracy and those who also pay for its panoply, has seldom been so precisely charted. This report may be a better guide to the realities of US politics than any number of political confrontations refereed by Jim Lehrer, that firm custodian of the presidential debate's proprieties.

Martin Walker's The President We Deserve is published in the US by Crown at $27.50, and will be published in Britain on October 21 by Fourth Estate at £20



# US unions flex their muscles

Gary Younge in Washington

PLAYING the underdog does not come easily to a man like Dick Chrysler, the Republican Congressman from Michigan's eighth district in Lansing. His tale of taut boot straps and rugged individualism took him from janitor to multi-millionaire in little over a decade. He thinks others could do the same and for the past two years he has been trying to cut Medicaid, slash welfare and cut taxes, to make sure they have no excuse not to.

Yet in his battle for re-election he says he feels like David fighting Goliath. "The labour bosses are using their members' dues to buy this seat," he says. "This has nothing to do with the people of Lansing but power and control of the unions in Washington DC."

Mr Chrysler is one of more than 30 Republicans, mostly freshmen, whose voting records have been attacked by America's largest trade union federation, the AFL-CIO, in a $35 million advertising campaign called Labour 96.

"We are running ads in districts where there is a large union presence and there are incumbent congressmen who have voted against working families," says Amanda Fuchs, an AFL-CIO spokeswoman. The unions are sending co-ordinators to 86 congressional districts to organise volunteers and distribute leaflets.

Last week the House speaker, Newt Gingrich, claimed that the campaign could prove decisive in the Democrats' bid to recapture Congress. The Republicans have stepped in with an advertising campaign specifically attacking the unions — "The big labour bosses. Big money. Big lies. Big liberals."

The business community has responded with advertisements attacking the unions and defending Republican congressmen. "This has been the first pro-Republican Congress in about 40 years," says Bruce Josten, the vice-president of the US Chamber of Commerce, which is spearheading a 30-strong coalition of national business lobbies.

The unions are delighted. The very idea that they could have this much influence was unthinkable even a year ago. Only 15 per cent of the country's workforce is unionised and for the past 40 years a mixture of nepotism and infighting has kept them from wielding any serious independent influence.

"This is a renaissance," says Barb Smith of the Michigan AFL-CIO. "We have rehabilitated the infrastructure of the labour movement so that our members can hold any politicians accountable for what they do."

The new era is largely attributed to the AFL-CIO president, John Sweeney, who took over the organisation after an insurgent campaign against Lane Kirkland, who had held the post for 16 years. Mr Sweeney believes that the excesses of the last Republican Congress and the upcoming elections give the unions the ideal opportunity to flex their muscles in a way that the National Rifle Association and anti-abortionist lobbies did during the 1994 elections.

Mr Sweeney, aged 62, regularly speaks in terms of class conflict. "American workers will rise up and take back from you what you have taken from us," he said at a rally outside the New York Stock Exchange.

# Manila jails child sex tour boss

Sarah Boseley

IN THE first case of its kind, a British travel agent was jailed for 16 years by a court in the Philippines last week for offering sex with young girls and boys to tourists who bought his package deals.

Michael Clarke, managing director of Paradise Express, is the first Briton to be convicted of promoting and inducing child prostitution. He said he would appeal, alleging the evidence, some of it collected by Christian Aid, had been fabricated.

However, campaigners against the paedophiles and sex tourists who abuse children in exotic holiday locations were rejoicing after Clarke was unmasked through the efforts of charity workers in Britain and the Philippines.

A response to his advert in a British magazine brought a lurid brochure. "It was clear it was offering women, described as young ladies," said Shay Cullen, whose Preda Foundation campaigns against child prostitution in Olongapo City, where Clarke sent customers. "It spoke of young ladies who are tethered fillies ready to be mounted in the OK Corral [a bar] . . . We investigated him and it led to his arrest."

Martin Cottingham, from Christian Aid in London, was another witness in the trial. He took a Paradise Express trip to the Philippines, posing as a tourist. Trippers were offered a card, which entitled them to discounts on drinks in certain bars where under-age girls could be bought.

When Mr Cottingham asked Clarke about the availability of young girls, he was offered one aged 12. Christian Aid is one of seven charities that have formed the Coalition on Child Prostitution and Tourism. While they are delighted at Clarke's conviction, they point out that most paedophiles and sex tourists make their own way to the Philippines, Thailand and other Asian and eastern European countries where children can be bought for sex.

This summer the campaigners won a significant victory, when the British government agreed to introduce legislation to allow offenders who escape prosecution abroad, by jumping bail or bribing officials, to be tried in the UK for child abuse.

The Clarke case was also helped by two Australian police officers stationed in the Philippines, and the coalition is calling for British officers to be deployed in the same way.

"The case would never have come to court without close international co-operation between campaigners," said Mr Cottingham. "Child sex tourism will only be significantly reduced if the same kind of co-operation can be built between police forces."

● A Dutch court last week jailed a man for five years for abusing children in the Philippines. It was the country's first ruling on sex tourism.

## The Week in Britain James Lewis

# Sleaze row was the final straw for Tory defector

THE FRAGILE facade of unity constructed by the Conservatives at their annual conference was shattered at the weekend by the defection to the Liberal Democrats of Peter Thurnham, the MP for Bolton North East, who became the third Tory in 12 months to quit the government benches to join an opposition party.

His explanation was that he was in despair at the Prime Minister's lack of leadership and the Government's attempts to suppress inquiries into sleaze. "I can no longer support a government which has lost touch with the basic values of decency," he declared.

Mr Thurnham resigned the Tory whip in February. He had since been sitting as an independent.

As long as two years ago he had announced he was standing down to spend more time with his family when his Bolton seat was rendered a hopeless cause by boundary changes. He then changed his mind and tried, but failed, to be selected for a safer neighbouring constituency. His Tory critics dubbed him an embittered bore with no political future.

The fact remains that the Tories have lost an MP, and that the Liberal Democrats' total has risen to a post-war record of 26. And further defections cannot be ruled out.

Mr Thurnham, a mild Eurosceptic with leftish social leanings, is not expected to stand as a Lib-Dem candidate at the next election. But his defection will add strength to the joint Lib-Dem and Labour demand for more searching investigations into political sleaze.

Split party unity, page 10

---

A 16-YEAR campaign to clear his name by a man claiming to have been an SAS officer ended in victory when his conviction for manslaughter was quashed by the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Bingham.

Although officially employed as a senior army information officer in Northern Ireland before being dismissed in 1975, Colin Wallace, aged 53, claimed that he once worked as an intelligence officer with the job of spreading confusion among terrorists, and that he became involved with MI5 officers in Operation Clockwork Orange, allegedly aimed at removing Harold Wilson from office as Prime Minister.

Dismissed for allegedly leaking a restricted document to a journalist (a wrongful dismissal for which he later received compensation), Mr Wallace claimed he was the victim of a covert operation to discredit him because of his threat to expose undercover work, forgery and homosexual blackmail of public figures in Ulster by British Intelligence.

Mr Wallace was sentenced to 10 years' jail in 1980 for the manslaughter of his antiques-dealer friend, Jonathan Lewis, but claimed the police suppressed evidence that would have cleared him. Lord Bingham quashed that conviction as unsafe. He will not face a retrial.

---

SHOTS from a video published by the Sun newspaper, allegedly showing Diana, Princess of Wales, and her former lover, James Hewitt, cavorting together in their underclothes, was revealed to be an elaborate hoax.

The video was evidently filmed as a comedy sketch to sell to a TV company and featured actor lookalikes of the princess and Mr Hewitt. The Sun said it had been offered to the newspaper by "a smart American lawyer" claiming to be acting for a group of soldiers or bodyguards who said the footage would have been used had the princess "cut up rough" during her divorce negotiations.

The Sun saw the video as proof of the princess's allegation that she had been under surveillance. When the hoax was exposed, the Sun's editor, Stuart Higgins, apologised to the princess and Mr Hewitt. But the affair provoked a forceful condemnation by Lord Wakeham, chairman of the Press Complaints Commission, of "unjustified" newspaper reporting of the royal family, and he warned that it could lead to statutory controls on the media.

Lord Wakeham is to reinforce his warning about indefensible media intrusion with a round of meetings with editors and proprietors. He is concerned not only by the hoax video but by lurid stories about the Duchess of York's private life and a report linking the heir to the throne, Prince William, with the 17-year-old daughter of a Scottish aristocrat.

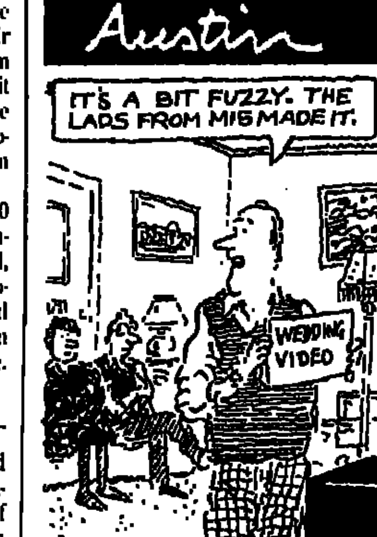
---

THE long-awaited Cullen report into the Dunblane massacre is expected to recommend a ban on handguns in homes, but is likely to stop well short of the complete ban demanded by Dunblane parents, informed sources say. Lord Cullen is thought to recommend that handguns should be stored at gun clubs.

The report is also believed to reprimand the Central Scotland police over giving an arms certificate to the mass murderer Thomas Hamilton in spite of warnings from the community about his behaviour.

Lord Cullen conducted the five-week public inquiry into the massacre at Dunblane primary school in March in which Hamilton shot dead 16 children and their teacher before killing himself.

The report will undoubtedly draw a furious response not only from the Dunblane parents but also from the Labour party, which wants a ban on all handguns, with the possible exception of small, single-shot handguns that are used for Olympic competition.




# Scientist with an eye on the ball

**Tim Radford**

THE British scientist who won a Nobel award missed the announcement in Stockholm because he had gone for lunch.

Sir Harry Kroto, a professor of chemistry at Sussex University, was one of three to share the Nobel award for chemistry for the discovery of buckminsterfullerenes — the third form of carbon.

Ironically, it came only hours after he was turned down for government funding for new research into the same subject: the Engineering and Physical Science Research Council rejected his request for £100,000 over the next three years.

Sir Harry, aged 57, said he was depressed by government funding cuts which had led to the decision.

Sir Harry, from Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, made his discovery in 1985 with his co-winners Robert Curl and Richard Smalley of Rice University, Houston, Texas.

They named the new form of carbon after the architect Buckminster Fuller, designer of the geodesic dome, which the molecule resembles. The discovery has opened new fields for chemistry and materials science.

Sir Harry originally worked on long chains of carbon, and this took him to radioastronomy in Canada, which ended in the discovery of unusual carbon molecules in space.

This led to experiments at Rice University with Rick Smalley and Bob Curl which showed they could form in carbon stars, "and all hell has broken loose ever since," he said.

Fullerenes or buckyballs could be the basis of a scientific revolution — the elongated forms are 200 times stronger than steel — but no one yet has a use for them.

Sir Harry Kroto is anxious over funding in Britain GEOFF TOMPKINSON

Sir Harry, who is the first Briton to win a Nobel chemistry prize since 1982, said: "The Government should be very wary of assuming that fundamental science is healthy because of this. The experiments were done at Rice University. They could not have been done in the UK at the time."

Professor James Mirrlees of Cambridge university won the Nobel economics prize for his work showing that some people know more than other people — and that such "asymmetric information" distorts market activity.

He shared the prize with the Canadian economist William Vickrey, who died, aged 82, two days after the award was announced.

# Judge denounces new law for asylum seekers

**Alan Travis**

A HIGH Court judge last week told the Government it was illegal for ministers to leave 10,000 asylum seekers destitute on the streets of Britain, facing the risk of serious illness or death.

Mr Justice Collins said local authorities had a duty dating back to welfare state legislation passed by the 1945 Labour government to provide "the basics for survival".

The judgment strikes at Home Secretary Michael Howard's policy of trying to deter asylum applicants coming to Britain, enshrined in the Asylum and Immigration Act which reached the statute book only three months ago.

Refugee groups were jubilant at the ruling, but the Home Office expressed its disappointment. Local authorities, now facing a bill which could run into millions, started preparations to set up a temporary tent city on Wormwood Scrubs, London, to house some of the refugees.

Mr Howard's Act was supposed to have removed the access of would-be refugees to welfare benefits and public housing.

The case was brought by the Refugee Council on behalf of four asylum seekers, a Chinese, an Iraqi Kurd, a Romanian and an Algerian, against three London councils.

David Pannick, QC, argued that the three councils had breached their duties under the 1948 National Assistance Act to provide housing for destitute applicants who could not look after themselves.

Mr Justice Collins agreed and said he found it impossible to believe that Parliament intended that asylum seekers "should be left destitute, starving and at risk of grave illness and even death". None is allowed to work during the first six months while the asylum application is considered.

In his judgment Mr Justice Collins said: "No doubt it was hoped that the bogus would thereby be deterred from coming or forced to return whence they came, but if an entrant faced the dilemma and decided he had to stay because to return would be to court persecution, I am sure Parliament would not have intended he be left to starve."

The Home Office said: "It cannot be right that people who enter the UK on the basis that they can maintain and accommodate themselves without resort to public funds should become eligible simply by claiming asylum," said a Home Office spokeswoman.

A similar High Court ruling in June, that the Social Security Secretary Peter Lilley had acted unlawfully in withdrawing benefit from refugees who failed to claim asylum on arrival in Britain, was reversed by the introduction of emergency legislation.

# Vets call for rabies review

**Stuart Millar**

**PRESSURE for a change in Britain's animal quarantine rules is likely to intensify this week when a group of eminent veterinary surgeons demands that the Government scrap the world's toughest rabies controls.**

**In the most significant breaking of ranks over the issue several of the country's most senior vets were expected to join calls for a system based on vaccination and identification. "The present laws are an anachronism and indefensible on scientific grounds," they say in a statement.**

**There have been increasingly heated exchanges between supporters and opponents of the current system following reports that the Government is set to bow to demands for reform. Officials are said to have been impressed by a Swedish scheme, which has abolished quarantine for animals from European Union countries and replaced it with a strict system of vaccination, blood testing and identification by means of a microchip implant.**

**Pressure for change has the support of senior service personnel and diplomats, including Chris Patten, dog-owning governor of Hong Kong, who described the rules as preposterous.**





# Irish PM attacks IRA 'Nazis'

**David Sharrock**

THE Irish prime minister, John Bruton, last week compared the IRA to the Nazis, accusing them of a "cynical betrayal" of the peace process.

His comments came as police were investigating last week's double bombing of the army headquarters in Northern Ireland, which injured 31 people. One of the injured, Warrant Officer James Bradwell, died later in the week from his burns.

Investigators say the IRA had penetrated security at Thiepval barracks at least four times. The bombing could have been planned for at least four months, before all-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland began at Stormont in June.

Addressing the Dail (Irish parliament), Mr Bruton said: "The Irish state cannot be hostage to tactical manoeuvres by a violent movement that is only willing to give up the option of violence if it gets the terms that it has dictated to everyone else. Those are the classic tactics of the National Socialists and Fascists during the 1920s and 1930s."

Mr Bruton later renewed his attack on Sinn Fein, revealing that the Irish government will shortly bring forward legislation on decommissioning of paramilitary arms.

He said: "Let me say this to the hardliners: If the republican movement want to be taken seriously as democrats, with all the benefits that confers, they will have to get rid of the tactical use of violence — for good. No more Lisburns. No more spectaculars. No more beatings. No coded warnings. Just the ballot box."

He warned the republicans: "The Government will continue to carry forward the political process, with or without Sinn Fein."

Addressing Ulster Unionists, he said the people in the Republic had "no agenda of a progressive takeover of Northern Ireland against the wishes of the majority of people there. If there ever was such an agenda or mentality here, it has gone. Any government I head would never be part of any such agenda."

John Major, addressing the Tory party conference in Bournemouth, lambasted the Sinn Fein president, Gerry Adams.

"For many months Sinn Fein leaders have mouthed the words of peace. Warrant Officer James Bradwell was 43 with a wife and with children, Mr Adams.

"He joined the army prepared to lose his life defending the British nation. Soldiers do. But he was murdered in cold blood in the United Kingdom.

"I sent him there, Mr Adams, so spare me any crocodile tears. Don't tell me this has nothing to do with you — I don't believe you, Mr Adams, I don't believe you." The speech drew thunderous applause.

Meanwhile the Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, said the multi-party talks would continue this week despite the bombing, without Sinn Fein. "They [the IRA] doubtless think this is going to deflect the British government and the people of Northern Ireland, and it's not."

Senior government sources on Monday welcomed a "significant breakthrough" in the Ulster talks process, when David Trimble's Ulster Unionists reached agreement with the nationalist SDLP on the terms for an agenda.

The deal, which has eluded the parties for four months, means that substantive negotiations on the province's future can finally begin — in the absence of Sinn Fein.

It appeared that the Lisburn bombing gave Mr Trimble the room he needed to water down his party's previous tough conditions for entry into constitutional talks because it moved Sinn Fein out of the frame. It also gave the process renewed impetus.

The joint UUP/SDLP proposals are close to what George Mitchell, President Clinton's special adviser and the talks' chairman, proposed at the start of the year.

They suggest a full plenary session of the talks will open without the decommissioning of weapons dominating the agenda. This has now been downgraded to the second item, and significantly makes provision for "mechanisms necessary to enable further progress to be made on decommissioning alongside negotiations".

The move has delighted all parties in the talks except Ian Paisley's DUP and the UK Unionists led by Robert McCartney. "It means decommissioning will never take place, they will talk and talk but nothing will be done about it," said a party source. "They are paving the way for Sinn Fein's entry into the talks."

Comment, page 12

# Blair calls for 'decent society'

**Michael White**

TONY BLAIR this week stepped into the electoral minefield of social morality when he condemned selfish individualism in modern Britain and endorsed traditional family values as essential to the "decent society" he hopes to foster in office.

His speech, delivered in South Africa, was probably the strongest call by a Labour leader for the reassertion of duties over rights as the linchpin of the welfare state since the 1950s, reflecting the greater freedom he has won to speak his mind to his party. Mr Blair insisted he was simply reflecting older socialist values.

Senior Tory ministers were quick to denounce the speech as a busybody's charter, the work of a "televangelist" beaming a slick message into Britain from a televised conference abroad.

Bemoaning the decline of family structures, Mr Blair said: "It is within the family that we learn the difference between right and wrong . . . It is within the family that we learn that there is such a thing as society. And it is upon the values of the extended family that the decent society will be built."

In radio and TV interviews, Mr Blair said he was aware of the pitfalls politicians face when preaching morality — "we are the last people to be doing that" — but argued that governments have a role in strengthening and nurturing families.

"At the heart of everything New Labour stands for is the theme of rights and responsibilities. For every right we enjoy, we owe responsibilities. That is the most basic family value of all," Mr Blair said.

Some Labour MPs were uneasy about their leader's tone, and Tory officials and ministers dutifully piled in to publicise cases where Labour councils have given grants or other encouragement to gay, lesbian and bisexual groups or foster parents.

Asked whether such post-nuclear families were among those he endorsed, Mr Blair ducked the obvious elephant trap while stressing that single parent families — mostly the victims of divorce — certainly were. "I have no desire to return to the age of Victorian hypocrisy about sex, to women's place being only in the kitchen, to homophobia or to preaching to people about their private lives as the ill-fated Back to Basics campaign by the Conservatives attempted to do."

## In Brief

**A GROUND-breaking ruling has opened the way for compensation claims against the police for race discrimination. Three judges held for the first time that police are covered by the Race Relations Act because they provide services to the public when they answer 999 calls or give other assistance.**

**EXPULSIONS of black children from schools have reached crisis proportions in some areas, according to a London university report showing that black pupils of Caribbean ancestry were being excluded at six times the rate of white pupils.**

**TERRY PATCHETT, the soft-spoken Yorkshire miner who became Labour MP for Barnsley East, has died at the age of 56 after a long fight against cancer.**

**A 33-YEAR-OLD London mother of two is the latest victim of the new variant of Creutzfeldt Jakob Disease, which some scientists believe may have been passed to humans as a result of the BSE epidemic.**

**RALSTON EDWARDS, the 42-year-old rapist who provoked fury by cross-examining his victim about her ordeal for six days in court, was given two life sentences at the Old Bailey.**

**THE GOLF club which banned a woman and her son from taking part in a family competition because he was adopted have dropped the rule.**

**SENIOR diplomats and civil servants whose actions in the arms-to-Iraq affair were described by judges as "disgraceful" cannot be sued, according to government lawyers who claim they have "absolute immunity from suit on the ground of public policy".**

**JOHN BIRT, the BBC's director general, has won the battle to restructure the World Service, but faces 20 conditions imposed by the Foreign Office in an attempt to safeguard the quality of the service.**

Comment, page 12

**SUPPORTERS of voluntary euthanasia were jubilant after a court chose not to punish Paul Brady who smothered his incurably ill brother. Lord Macfayden in the High Court in Glasgow accepted the killing was prompted by the victim's "earnest and plainly heartfelt request".**

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 20 1996

A triumph of stage management saw Tory factions rally behind Honest John, say **Patrick Wintour** and **Andy McSmith**

# Split party unites under one big tent

RIVEN OVER Europe, enveloped by sleaze and facing imminent general election defeat, one of the most effective vote-garnering machines in the Western world has pulled itself together and shown that if the Conservatives are down they are certainly not out.

The Eurosceptics have furled their Union Jacks for the moment, believing the argument over a single currency already won, and party strategists think they have at last found a point of weakness in Tony Blair: in "Big Tent Conservatism" the toasts will be drunk not in champagne but in plain old English ale, and the very ordinariness of John Major has been fused with down-to-earth policies crafted to seduce aspirant voters. All this was a triumph of stage management, for at the start of what John Major called "the week in which the Tory family came together" it looked as if estrangement was going to turn into separation.

Two conferences seemed to be taking place. The main hall was filled with loyalist applause, but the fringes were obsessed with the single currency. The sceptics know the balance of power inside the parliamentary party will turn heavily in their favour after the election and believe that in any case they have won the argument.

Lord Tebbit, speaking to the European Foundation, pointed out that more than half the candidates in winnable seats would declare themselves opponents of a single currency. Therefore the Prime Minister could not get the single currency through Parliament on Tory votes. "Any attempt to do it any other way would have such a traumatic effect on this party that it would not be the same again, so we can stop this damn thing even before it gets to a referendum."

Norman Lamont, the former Chancellor, claimed at another meeting that "there is no prospect of a Conservative government joining a single currency in the first wave". Bill Cash warned — "we are at one of the most momentous moments in our history . . . we are heading for one country, a German Europe" — and compared the Government's stance to pre-war appeasement.

There was even a new rightwing group, Conservatives Against A Federal Europe. It had a bizarre start as lights dimmed, Bob Marley blared out over loudspeakers, black curtains rolled back, and there on stage were eight Tory MPs famous only for having lost the whip two years ago for rebelling against the Maastricht treaty.

Sir Teddy Taylor explained the choice of Bob Marley because his lyrics — "don't you worry 'bout a thing, because every little thing's gonna be all right" — perfectly summarised the Cabinet's ambiguous position.

The meeting hissed at the mention of Sir Leon Brittan, applauded when Richard Shepherd likened the EU to the old Soviet Union, and cheered when Tony Marlow declaimed: "The Government's position is a fraud and they know it's a fraud, and it will not survive, and cannot survive, and should not survive an election campaign."

What the television viewer saw was quite different: a party reuniting in the face of an election. One parliamentary candidate admitted he had intended to call a show of hands in the hall for those in favour or against a single currency — but organisers made sure he never got near the podium.

What first turned the mood was Malcolm Rifkind's deft defence of the Government's wait-and-see policy. One senior cabinet minister, explaining the contrast between sceptic fringe and loyalist conference hall, argued: "Mr Rifkind spoke to their heads, Lord Tebbit was speaking to their hearts. The head finally won through."

Kenneth Clarke's rapturous reception later in the week was a genuine surprise, and a blow to the rightwing campaign to get rid of him.

As the Deputy Prime Minister Michael Heseltine arrived at a function at which Mr Major and Mr Clarke were among the guests, he was approached by Bruce Anderson — the Prime Minister's biographer — who demanded in a loud voice: "When are you going to sack Kenneth Clarke then?" Less than 12 hours later, the Chancellor was basking in a 94-decibel standing ovation.

In contrast to previous conference addresses, delivered with the enthusiasm of a man reading the phone directory, Mr Clarke had taken the trouble to prepare a decent speech laced with decent jokes. He nearly left out his best joke, one likening Gordon Brown's economics to Dolly Parton's bust, because he had feared that most of his audience would have forgotten the well-built country and western singer.

THE SPEECH balanced a tough message on tax cuts and an uncompromising passage suggesting Britain might join a single currency.

For tense Central Office strategists it was the pivotal point of the conference. One relieved official said: "The penny has finally dropped. They've understood that if we don't stop banging on about Europe, Ken's chances of getting over the good news about the economy in time for the election are nil and falling."

The bulk of the sceptics in the Cabinet seem to agree. They have been telling colleagues privately that there is little prospect of the Cabinet changing its stance on the single currency before the election.

They also know that, if they are found doing anything to disrupt the truce, it will kill their personal chances in the battle for Mr Major's succession. Hence Michael Portillo's call for "unity, unity, unity".

The question is whether this cohesion will dissipate as Conservative MPs return to Westminster to confront events — beef, the Dublin Euro summit in December, the imminent European Court of Justice judgment on the 48-hour week.

Within 30 minutes of Mr Clarke's speech calling for unity, Edward Heath was up at a fringe meeting insisting that "a single currency will come about, and if we are outside it we will be nowhere". Tom Arnold, leader of the Conservative MEPs, also launched an attack on Lord Tebbit, claiming polecats should be left in the trees spitting, while for some rightwingers, defending Britain's history, culture and nationhood from Europe has simply become more important than beating Labour at the next election.

Despite such obsessions, the conference was also intended to promote an agenda for a fifth term in office. In a revealing address to the Centre for Policy Studies, Mr Major's intellectual guru, the Paymaster-General David Willetts, explained the party had been forced to make two concessions recently.

First, it had had to admit the recession had been painful — hence the "yes it hurt, but worked" campaign. Second, it had to concede Labour had changed. "There is no point being the last six people in Britain to say that Labour had not changed. There is no point saying that the danger with Tony Blair is that you get Dennis Skinner: we have to say the danger with Tony Blair is that you get Tony Blair."

Once those two concessions were made, the ground was cleared to use the conference to promote the fifth-term agenda, which is being sold — in the manner of the Republicans in San Diego — as Big Tent Conservatism, an inclusive party reflecting the Baldwinite personality of Mr Major: classless, unsnobbish, grammar-school educated, relaxed and resolutely ordinary, the antithesis of the slick, public-school phoney running Labour.

The key theme of "Big Tent Conservatism" is to attract back the hard-working classes — a Central Office phrase that captures well the self-image and values of core Tory voters.

The key policy initiatives of the conference — workfare, action against housing benefit scroungers, single parents, public-sector strikers, indiscipline in schools and curfews to stop juvenile crime — are carefully crafted to appeal. The proposals have the added attraction of embarrassing Mr Blair, as he has to decide whether to back many of them in Parliament this winter.

Tory strategists are also buoyed because they believe they finally have a handle on Mr Blair. Polling of potential Tory voters shows there is mileage in presenting him as a politically correct, excitable, privileged, public-school product with an agenda for Islington rather than Middle Britain. "His constitutional agenda leaves most people cold. It is absolutely irrelevant to their daily lives," Mr Willetts declared.

Mr Willetts also has statistics to support the claim that the Tories have created a society in which the hard-working can prosper.

The earnings of the poorest tenth of the population have risen by 25 per cent since 1991, of the bottom fifth by 42 per cent and of the top fifth by only 35 per cent. And educational qualification is a better predictor of class mobility than social background.

"This is not a picture of a society in which an underclass is permanently blocked, but a society in which there is opportunity for all," Mr Willetts proudly claimed.

It took the defection to the Liberal Democrats of Peter Thurnham, the whipless Tory of Bolton North-East, to remind the party that the cloud of sleaze still hangs over the sunlit uplands of a fifth term. — *The Observer*




## Triumph of the ordinary over the not too bad

SKETCH
**Simon Hoggart**

THE Prime Minister vowed a very personal election tour on the final day of the conference. "If you want to know where I am, it's easy!" he said. "North, south, east or west, I'll be where you are!"

Steady on, I thought. The last person to make the claim of omnipresence was Jesus. We knew Mr Major was feeling more confident, but this was ridiculous.

It's true that he is a little more at ease each year on these occasions. The theme of the conference was ordinariness, and he was, as ever, triumphantly ordinary, thunderously not too bad, stupendously just about OK.

What he manages to evoke, in the midst of the vast hall, with its eager, shiny audience, its banks of cameras, its megawatt sound system, is the raffle draw at a Conservative bring-and-buy sale.

The PM began with the first of his nervous little jokes. As the applause washed up around him, he said: "For a moment I thought Norma had got up to speak! Now if I can have the hat, please, the dinner for two at the Bournemouth Balti House goes to number . . ." (I made the second bit up, but it gives you the mood.)

He has an unnerving habit of pausing for a punchline, and just when you expect a really belting gag, produces a stumer. One good line ("I was born in the war. My father was 66. My mother was — surprised") was followed after an anguished pause with: "I recognise that laugh. That's Robert Atkins!" (an old friend whom he sacked last year). The expected laughter is swallowed back by the audience like an unwanted burp.

A Major speech should be like a stroll in the country. But things keep going wrong. You snag your Val Doonican sweater on barbed wire, your brogues get stuck in the mud. Phrases meant to sweep you along hold you up instead. On Labour and devolution: "Their policy is in chaos. They change sides more often than a windscreen wiper." But windscreen wipers stick to one side of the car, don't they?

"It's been 21 years since Michael Heseltine first got a standing ovation at this conference. And no one has sat down ever since!" You know what that means, but you can't work out why he put it like that.

The most moving segment came when he spoke directly to Gerry Adams about the death of Warrant Officer Bradwell.

"Don't tell me this has nothing to do with you. I don't believe you, Mr Adams!" It reflects the Government's new disdain for Mr Adams, and it sounded sincere.

He was far less convincing over the latest Kash for Kwestions scandal. "This party, as a whole, is straight and honourable and true . . ." (Oh, come on.) And just silly when he depicted Labour as the party of entrenched privilege: "New Labour — Old School Tie."

It ended amiably enough. The star prize in the raffle was an election victory, but we haven't got the winners names yet.

# A slide back to war in Ulster?

EVERY bombing in Northern Ireland is a political act and the Lisburn barracks car bombs last week were more than usually calculated acts of violence. The timing, on the eve of the Conservative party conference, was too precise to be misunderstood. The placement, especially given the security system around Lisburn, of two 350kg bombs timed to explode within 15 minutes of one another and designed to cause maximum carnage in the confusion, was never likely to be a stunt by a breakaway group of dissatisfied republicans. And so it proved when the IRA finally laid claim to the attack, saying that the target was soldiers and "regretting" injuries to civilians. It is partly designed as a provocation to loyalist paramilitaries to abandon their increasingly precarious ceasefire. The Lisburn explosions took place literally within earshot of a meeting at the Maze prison between loyalist prisoners and their political allies. All voices have rightly urged the loyalists not to respond, but there can be little doubt that it will be an increasingly difficult exercise.

This was by far the most important act of violence to have taken place in Northern Ireland since at least 1994. It marks, on a large scale, the resumption of lethal assaults on the army. It means that all army and police activity in Northern Ireland — and possibly elsewhere — must now proceed on the basis that the IRA will kill soldiers and police officers if they can. It is a return to the operational methods of the 1980s. It is a profoundly retrogressive step, and no one should delude themselves that any aspect of the Northern Ireland situation will now be anything except more difficult than it was before.

Some republicans may still believe that such bombings will have the perverse effect of forcing the British government to bring Sinn Fein into the Northern Ireland talks process. If so, they are doomed to disappointment. Even in the unlikely event that the IRA announces a fresh ceasefire — an outcome for which there is barely an ounce of evidence — it is simply not politically possible for Sinn Fein to be admitted to the talks at the moment. There is no basis of trust upon which that can happen. It would not be realistic to expect Unionist parties to remain in the talks in that event. In any case, the Conservatives could not persuade their MPs to support such a move.

This is therefore a politically pointless act. The republican movement gains nothing by it, and loses yet another slice of its already very thin credibility. This does not mean that Sinn Fein will necessarily be displeased by the outcome, since its priority now seems increasingly to be focused on defeating the Social Democratic and Labour Party to become the primary political force in Catholic Northern Ireland. Since events like Lisburn mock the SDLP's strategy of participating in the political talks, they will doubtless be repeated.

It is necessary to ask, therefore, whether there is any alternative at present to this gradual descent back into armed conflict in Northern Ireland. It is genuinely hard to see one that any British government of whatever party could honourably follow. It would, of course, be desirable to strike a compromise deal in Northern Ireland within which, with public consent, a pluralist Ulster could prosper in a three-stranded system of reform. But there wasn't much evidence that this was ever seriously on the republican agenda. And what has happened in Lisburn only confirms the grim conclusion that, for the IRA, the struggle is preferable to any possible outcome.

# World Service at the crossroads

THIS WEEK'S report on the future of the BBC World Service (by the joint Foreign Office/BBC working group) is a messy compromise which it will be impossible to evaluate properly until it has been seen to work in practice. Bluntly, that means waiting to see whether the numerous sensible suggestions are taken seriously or whether they are left for dead under the "reforming" steamroller driven by John Birt, the director general of the BBC.

The background to all this is that the World Service, which claims 140 million listeners in 44 languages, is under attack from two directions. First, and more important — though not covered by this report — the Government (through the subvention it gives to the Foreign Office) has forced a £5.4 million cut in this year's budget, to be followed by £10 million cuts during the next two years unless the Chancellor of the Exchequer is unexpectedly overcome by an attack of wisdom in next month's budget. Second, as part of the "Birt reforms", the World Service's English news-gathering service is being "integrated" with the domestic news-gathering functions of the BBC. According to World Service staff, this will lead to false economies and a debilitating cultural change that will adversely affect the way it operates around the world.

The recommendations contain lots of pious promises on the maintenance of quality; on guidelines to govern the trading relationship between the licence-funded BBC and the Foreign Office-funded World Service; on WS representation on senior appointment boards; on co-location of the WS's English language and vernacular services; on the WS having the right to require programming to cover certain events and so on. If at times it reads more like a peace treaty for the warring factions in Bosnia that merely reflects the fear felt within the World Service that its distinctive culture might be swallowed whole by the BBC.

The inclusion of the independent National Audit Office to monitor the trading relationship between the two bodies is entirely welcome, but the working group's admission that detailed information from the BBC on the savings that might arise from restructuring was not available is totally baffling. This was supposed to be the *raison d'être* of the Birt offensive in the first place. And who is the unlikely court of appeal if the World Service's editorial responsibility is compromised? Why, John Birt, that's who. Operationally, the most worrying aspect is that the World Service will not be maintaining operational control of the team providing news and current affairs. In these circumstances those who campaigned against the Birt proposals can claim a number of victories which wouldn't have happened otherwise, but they will have to wait to see whether the distinctive and highly successful culture of the World Service is going to be changed irredeemably for the worse.

# Truth still barred

MAGNUS MALAN and other top generals set up a paramilitary unit to help Inkatha fight the ANC. Documents showed that it was regarded as an "offensive" unit to be used in covert attacks. The 1987 attack at KwaMakutha, which killed 13 innocent friends and relatives of a local ANC leader, was a massacre carried out by such a unit. All this was accepted by Judge Jan Hugo in Durban last week. But the judge failed to find proof of express or even tacit approval of the operation, which he said was a poorly planned "frolic" by junior officers. General Malan walked free and called the outcome a victory for justice. Where does that leave truth and the law in South Africa?

It is one thing to believe that senior ministers under the apartheid regime knew and condoned illegal activities, including death squad operations. In the culture of deniability, it is quite another to prove it. President Mandela is right to say that the verdict must be respected: if the case was as strong as it appeared initially, then it was badly mishandled. Separate evidence has emerged of security force complicity in a whole range of crimes, including bombings and assassinations. Some of this has been volunteered by the perpetrators in submissions to Archbishop Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It may seem inconceivable that Gen Malan and his colleagues should escape responsibility, but that was not the evidence before this court.

How then is justice to be done and a proper reckoning made of the past? The commission has proved of double-edged benefit in offering immunity, but the time-limit for doing so expires anyhow in December. The hope must be that many who have not come forward will then be prosecuted, and on stronger evidence. Most white South Africans are more concerned by the current crime wave (once mostly confined to the black communities) than by the official violence of previous years. But the black majority, which suffered so much in the past, has a longer memory. There will be little faith in the judicial system if it cannot bring to justice those who perpetrated such visible atrocities under apartheid. The future as well as the past is at stake.

# Nobel prize shames an indifferent world

Hugo Young

THIS YEAR'S Nobel Peace Prize is the most arresting award for many years. It's the first one I can recall that defeats the smootheries of international acquiescence. When Aung San Suu Kyi was nobelled she was reviled by the Burmese military, but the world at large wasn't running such extravagantly pro-Burma policies that it felt obliged to regard the laureate as an alien spirit. Desmond Tutu, the Irish Peace Women, even Henry Kissinger had records that weren't an open challenge to governments.

Bishop Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta, who have been honoured for their defence of East Timor against the vile and illegal occupation by Indonesia, are rather different. They stand for something that can only arouse collective embarrassment.

They have sustained a cause to which the international community pays lip-service but little else. Self-determination for East Timor, while attracting the mild approval of the United Nations and the European Union, has elicited hardly a single meaningful action from either body. Indonesia, buyer of arms, focus of trade and source of oil, rules. On the trade-off between trade and human rights, the Nobel committee gives an answer which rejects the answer given by the powers of the world. This is a resonant challenge, long scorned by the British Tories, among others, but surely addressed also to the party offering itself as their more sensitive and principled successor. When, outside the Nobel committee, should human rights take precedence over self-interest?

The appalling condition of East Timor is not in dispute. Anyone who wants to know the details can get an up-to-the-minute pamphlet from the Catholic Institute for International Relations (190a New North Road, London N1), which is known for its accurate history and research. In 11 years of illegal occupation, Indonesia has brought about the deaths of about 200,000 East Timorese, and seeded the Catholic country with about 100,000 settlers, mostly Islamic and often forced, from Java. Its military government has starved the people and tried to break their language and culture. It has jailed resisters, abolished free speech, but not so far succeeded in crushing Bishop Belo's Church.

The bishop is one of those who have, surprisingly, been able to keep this small and distant place on the radar screen. Courageous journalism has helped. The massacre of Santa Cruz five years ago was caught on camera, and the work of John Pilger and Hugh O'Shaughnessy has played a great part in disorienting the Jakarta government, which never expected that its Timorese adventure would still be in contention 20 years later. The people of East Timor themselves are their own, indefatigable heroes.

But what of the world? The UN has passed some empty resolutions, and the EU has agreed a pious text. Behind a rhetoric of concern stands the inertia of submission. The lure of trade has been the unguent of tolerance. Britain sold $200 million of weaponry to Indonesia between 1988 and 1992, and more than doubled that in a single deal for 24 Hawk fighter/trainer jets in November 1995. Foreign Office denials that aid, which has marched in close step with arms deals, has anything to do with commerce have to be read in the context of similar denials over the Malaysian Pergau Dam, which the courts did not uphold.

The Government has concerns about all this. But as the Scott report copiously revealed, its preferred way of dealing with them, in the complex greyness of arms trading, is by non-disclosure. The Foreign Office seldom looks further than the location of power. In 1993, Douglas Hurd went so far as explicitly to sympathise with Indonesia's separatist problems, referring with disdain to "some theoretical people in the West talking about the purity of self-determination". As Foreign Secretary, he always showed a coldly sceptical attitude to the role of human rights in determining foreign policy decisions. In connection with aid to Indonesia, he again said in 1993 that insisting on a link with human rights was not a "sensible and fruitful thing to do".

Such thinking will condition the real reaction of power-brokers to East Timor's new eminence, whatever bromides they feel obliged to utter. The Nobel disturbs their policy of quiet indifference. Perhaps it will even elevate East Timor, for a while, into a popular cause. There was evidence of this even before the Nobel, when a British jury, to universal astonishment, acquitted four women who admitted sabotaging fighter jets bound for Indonesia. Their defence, that they had a higher duty to prevent genocide in East Timor, struck the populist conscience in a way that previously only South Africa might have done.

FOR A future Labour government, South Africa in fact offers a pointed antecedent. In the late sixties, more than half the Wilson Cabinet wanted to sell arms to South Africa, but the minority mobilised party and popular opinion against the deal. The conscience vote won the argument. It was a position which even a passionate arms seller like Denis Healey, when he wrote his memoirs, admitted had been correct. Whether a similar kind of conscience will be exhibited by New Labour, in respect of East Timor or anywhere else, remains for the moment decidedly moot.

The party's line on the arms trade is studiously unthreatening. It says it won't grant licences for weapons that might be used for internal repression or external aggression, for abusing human rights or perpetrating torture. But it won't interfere with existing licences, and has no intention of defining which customers for the biggest of all UK export industries might fall within its notional ban. It states, in short, purposes that are almost identical with the present government's.

Does East Timor merit any support, even at the expense of British jobs? As it happens, Tony Blair was this week well-placed to address it, at the Commonwealth Press Union in South Africa. There couldn't have been a better forum in which to venture some indicative thoughts about New Labour's global values. Instead it was the same old stuff, of New Labour Britain, about which the world has little reason to care a jot.



# Rearguard action against Nato

EDITORIAL

IF THE Russians, who are so prone to self-pity, had any lingering doubts about the importance of the role the West expects them to play on the international stage, they must have felt reassured by the flurry of diplomatic activity over the past few weeks.

As General Alexander Lebed neared the end of his visit to Brussels at the invitation of Nato's secretary-general, the French foreign minister, Hervé de Charette, was having talks with his Russian opposite number, Yevgeny Primakov, in Moscow.

A few days earlier, after the US secretary of state, Warren Christopher, had made an official offer of a new strategic partnership, the Russian defence minister, Igor Rodionov, attended a meeting of his Western counterparts in Norway.

Even so, the Russians say they have misgivings about the West's intentions. They have denounced moves to enlarge Nato eastwards as an eleventh-hour manifestation of the cold war. And they predict all sorts of disasters in Europe if the Atlantic alliance carries through its plan to offer membership to former satellites of the Soviet Union.

Such threatening talk has proved ineffectual. Chivvied along by the Americans, Nato's 16 members have decided to designate, as early as next spring, the first countries that will join the alliance, if possible in 1999, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Washington Treaty.

Tea and sympathy: Yeltsin looks frail during a television interview while on holiday last month. His health problems are causing concern

As a result, the Russians have gradually shifted their ground. They are still opposed in principle to the idea of enlargement. But since they have had to resign themselves to the inevitable, they are setting conditions in the hope of getting as much as they can in the way of compensation as regards their position in the future structure of European security.

Apart from domestic political considerations, the Russians' apparently contradictory statements are all guided by a single objective: to delay Nato enlargement for as long as possible while securing the right to have a say in the scale and nature of that enlargement.

As De Charette said in Moscow, "the year 1997 will be the year of security in Europe". The Western countries have set themselves three goals: to reform Nato in such a way as to give Europe a more important role; to admit new members; and to redefine relations with Russia.

Not everyone has the same priorities. The United States is chiefly interested in enlargement. Russia, on the other hand, had hoped to persuade certain European countries that issues such as the reform of Nato and, above all, relations with Moscow should be settled before the admission of new members.

If Moscow had been expecting support from Paris, it must be disappointed. France does attach great importance to the "Europeanisation" of Nato and the signing of a charter with Russia, but it does not see them as a precondition for enlargement. It hopes that the three processes can be carried through simultaneously, and that their success will culminate in a major pan-European summit next year. Now that the Russians realise that substantive support is unlikely to be forthcoming from any quarter, all they can do is make a virtue of necessity.

(October 10)

# 'Victory is about gaining the trust of Tamils'

Bruno Philip meets Sri Lanka's prime minister, Chandrika Kumaratunga

**LAST December the Sri Lankan army won a major victory when it took control of the Jaffna peninsula, which had up to then been in the hands of the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). But your troops have also suffered serious setbacks. Does this mean the situation has reached an impasse?**

I don't agree with that interpretation. We've won more victories in 12 months than the previous government did in 12 years. For the first time, a Sri Lankan government has succeeded in re-establishing control of Jaffna, which is at the heart of the Tamil province. I think we'll succeed in pushing the guerrillas back into the jungle by the end of next year.

**But you haven't crushed the LTTE.**

It's not our intention to crush the LTTE completely. If the Tigers were prepared to negotiate with us and put an end to the fighting, everything would be fine. That's what we tried to do shortly after I came to power. We negotiated with the Tigers for eight months, but it was they who in April 1995 broke a four-month ceasefire and forced us to resume fighting.

**Do you see any chance of starting new talks?**

We've told them that if they agree to lay down their arms and are prepared to define with us the terms of a timetable for negotiations, we would readily consider the possibility of resuming talks.

**Do you think the Tigers will be prepared to lay down their arms one day?**

[After a silence] Well, they'll just have to reconcile themselves to doing so, because no armed group can afford to go on fighting indefinitely. In any case, it should be remembered that, in the context of a guerrilla war, military successes on the ground do not represent for us the sole form of victory.

Victory is also about gaining the trust of Tamil civilians and persuading them that, contrary to what they are constantly being told by the LTTE, fighting is not the only way they can achieve what they want and lay claim to their rights.

**Human rights organisations have voiced concern about the army's brutality against the population of Jaffna. Forty people are reported to have disappeared. That's surely not the best way of gaining the trust of civilians.**

When we came to power, we inherited a demoralised, weakened army that had lost all hope of winning the war. We gave it a new spirit and self-confidence. But I also repeatedly told the military that our enemies were not the Tamil population, but the guerrillas of the LTTE.

What the Tigers want to see happening is quite the opposite. With their attacks and their bombings, they hope to provoke our soldiers and encourage them to take reprisals on civilians. The army used to be accused of raping and stealing. We've succeeded in stopping that kind of behaviour. Having said that, I accept there may still be outrages, but they are the exception. I was told about the case of the people who disappeared and immediately ordered an inquiry.

**Is it not ironical that after being the most determined advocate of peace you've become an advocate of war?**

Yes it is. Believe me, when the war started up again in the spring of 1995, the first month was very difficult. After getting involved personally in the peace process, I suddenly found myself having to give orders that would lead to war and bloodshed. But you eventually get used to that kind of situation when you know that your only goal is peace and nothing else.

**In the past year, you've placed some very big arms orders. You've also taken the lead in a drive against corruption. But how is it possible to avoid corruption with arms contracts, which are notorious for offering possibilities of backhanders?**



Kumaratunga: no stalemate

It's very difficult. I've managed to cut down corruption by 60 per cent in almost every domain since coming to power. But it's true that when it comes to arms purchases it's much more difficult to put an end to such illegal practices.

**The economic situation has deteriorated and many indicators are giving cause for alarm. Why is that?**

It's 90 per cent due to arms spending. The continuation of the war has frightened off foreign investors. To start with, those investors were afraid my government might be too leftwing in its policies, so they gave themselves time before investing in Sri Lanka. But when they finally began to move in, the war started up again. Then the capital, Colombo, was the scene of bomb attacks.

(October 8)

# Fresh battle for Yeltsin's successor

Jean-Baptiste Naudet in Moscow

"RUSSIA today is like a boat that has gone out of control in a storm, and is being pushed on to the rocks by the wind and the waves, while the captain is in bed nursing a hangover in his cabin and his shipmates are fighting over the tiller." That is how the opposition communist newspaper, Sovietskaya Rossia, describes the present state of play in Moscow.

Despite President Boris Yeltsin's attempt last week to take the heat out of the situation, and despite official reassurances about his health, the fight for the succession is again on.

On October 8 Grigory Yavlinsky, a former presidential candidate and member of the Social Democratic opposition, denounced the existence of "three governments in this country, which are constantly fighting among themselves for power, that of Viktor Chernomyrdin [the prime minister], that of Anatoly Chubais [the president's chief of staff] and something resembling a government, headed by Alexander Lebed [the national security adviser]". Yavlinsky believes that Lebed, the most popular of those in the running to succeed Yeltsin, has been the target of a "vicious offensive".

That offensive, which began several weeks ago, has suddenly intensified. After being snubbed by Yeltsin, Lebed was publicly accused on October 7 by his sworn enemy Anatoly Kulikov, the interior minister, of being "surrounded by criminals". Kulikov claimed he could back up his allegation with "proof".

Meanwhile the nation's television channels, all of which are controlled to a greater or lesser degree by Lebed's rivals for the succession, have been conducting a violent campaign against the general and his new ally, Alexander Korzhakov, a former chief of the presidential guard.

An old corruption scandal involving Korzhakov has been reactivated, indirectly smearing his last remaining ally in the government, Shamil Tarpishev, who as sports minister is financially powerful because of the National Sports Foundation's privileges as regards duty-free drink and cigarettes. Tarpishev was forced to resign on October 7. Lebed responded to criticism the following day by saying: "The dogs may bark, but the caravan moves on."

Lebed has also been lambasted by another of his rivals, Yuri Luzhkov, Moscow's highly popular mayor, who has ties with the business community. Luzhkov accused Lebed of "treason" because he signed a "totally unacceptable" peace treaty in Chechenia, and went on to compare him to Stalin.

Luzhkov, who denies he has already started electioneering, also took a swipe at Chernomyrdin, who "has no strategy for the country or its economy" and pays "too much attention to the energy barons". He also accused Chubais of abusing his position in Yeltsin's absence.

(October 10)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 20 1996

# Back to the baton

**Alain Lompech** looks at the troubles and (right) the triumph of Myung Whun Chung on his return to Paris two years after being sacked from the Paris Opera

THE South Korean-born American conductor, Myung Whun Chung, has returned to Paris for the first time in a professional capacity since he was dismissed as musical director of the Opéra de Paris two years ago.

When he took over that job in 1989 from Daniel Barenboim, who had himself been fired, the Orchestre de l'Opéra was still reeling from the shock of hearing Barenboim say that ideally all the musicians in the orchestra should be sacked, then re-hired one by one.

Chung opted for a different approach. The Orchestre de l'Opéra had been badly neglected since 1981 and needed an injection of new blood. At the risk of being charged with demagoguery — which he was — Chung stepped, so to speak, from the podium into the orchestra pit: he stated publicly that he would stick up for his musicians whenever the administration took a decision affecting their working conditions.

But he also called into question certain perks the players cherished. For the first time in the orchestra's history, those musicians who were called upon to take part in a given production were obliged to attend every rehearsal. They resented having to do so, because they were used to getting people to stand in for them while they did lucrative session work elsewhere — and still got paid by the Opéra.

But the musicians realised they would not be able to restore their somewhat dented reputation unless they accepted Chung's terms. Once they had done that, he could do what he wanted with them. He had an exclusive contract with Deutsche Grammophon. The 15 discs he recorded over five years for the company proved the calibre of "his" orchestra to the musical world.

During his spell at Opéra-Bastille from its inauguration in 1990 until his departure in 1994 — a period marked by repeated strikes and the sacking of a succession of technical and administrative directors — Chung and his musicians formed a team whose professionalism earned plaudits on all sides. Even today, the Orchestre de l'Opéra is still the best Paris orchestra, and the only one that can stand comparison with its most distinguished rivals abroad.

Chung is clearly a conductor who has a greater talent for bringing out the music of sounds — a notion dear to the late conductor, Sergiu Celibidache — than many of his colleagues. A senior administrator of the Orchestra of La Scala in Milan believes that Chung can now be compared to the Austrian Carlos Kleiber, regarded by many as the "greatest" conductor of our time.

When he was at the Opéra, Chung was accused of wanting to run the whole show himself and preventing invitations being extended to conductors who might eclipse him. But such accusations overlook the fact that vast sections of the international community of musicians, opera directors and singers had vowed never to set foot in the Opéra-Bastille because of the way Barenboim had been dismissed in 1989.

Since Chung's departure few leading conductors have conducted the Orchestre de l'Opéra apart from Georg Solti, in a concert version of Mozart's Don Giovanni, and the American James Conlon, who was appointed resident conductor of the Opéra last August.

Chung's sacking only intensified the contempt felt in international musical circles for Paris's musical life and, more particularly, the Opéra. The manner of his ousting was regarded as worse even than Barenboim's: the Israeli conductor had not even conducted the orchestra when he went, whereas Chung had already proved his mettle.



Stick with it . . . Myung Whun Chang returns to Paris

What the international musical community most resented was the way the French government reneged on its agreement and claimed that Chung's contract with the Opéra was null and void. Chung was vindicated by the courts. He was indeed dismissed, but in full compliance with the terms of his contract: he received 9 million francs ($1.8 million) by way of compensation.

No one can win a case against the French authorities and expect to get away scot-free: Chung is currently being subjected to a tax audit. But so far there has not been one centime's difference between what Chung and his employers have respectively declared to the authorities.

Not everyone likes the idea of Chung bobbing up again in Paris. Jean-Pierre Le Pavec, head of the Festival de St-Denis, confirms that the concerts Chung was due to give in Paris with the Orchestre de Paris last June were cancelled.

"The cancellation is bound, once again, to fuel the distrust felt by leading international conductors, of whom Chung is undoubtedly one, towards Parisian musical life," Le Pavec says.

Chung's triumphal performance of Gustav Mahler's First Symphony at La Scala on September 16 proved yet again that he is greatly admired by concert-goers and musicians alike. Members of the orchestra not only drummed their feet approvingly during Chung's final curtain call, but waited for him in the street to give him a further ovation.

(October 4)

# Chung leads orchestra with brio

ON OCTOBER 2, an expectant audience attended the first of Myung Whun Chung's three Paris concerts with the Orchestre de Paris at the Salle Pleyel in Paris, *writes Alain Lompech*. It included not only a large Korean contingent, but the couturier — and former head of the Paris Opéra — Pierre Bergé, and the composer Henri Dutilleux, now in his eighties and not such an assiduous concert-goer as he used to be (one of the finest recordings of his Métaboles was made by Chung for Deutsche Grammophon when he was still conductor of the Orchestre de l'Opéra).

The first work in the programme, Olivier Messiaen's Les Offrandes Oubliées, which was first performed in 1931, is a "symphonic meditation" consisting of three parts that run into each other. It is a soaring, imploring work whose smooth first and third sections sandwich a central explosion of incisive, violent music punctuated by glissandi.

In a work of this kind, it is impossible to cheat or to disguise a muffed passage. For the music to exist at all, there has to be absolute accuracy, total respect of intensities, and perfect control of dynamics, which must range from a resonant pianissimo to a full, unaggressive fortissimo.

It is music that needs not so much to be "performed" as restituted in all its chromatic range, humanity and religious feeling. Chung and the Orchestre de Paris succeeded in doing precisely that.

The orchestra is more familiar with Gustav Mahler's Fifth Symphony than any other French orchestra — they gave performances of it many years ago under Bernard Haitink and Rafael Kubelik.

In his rendering of the work, Chung swept the orchestra along with broad, generous movements, carefully shaping each phrase as he brought it to its maximum intensity. The Orchestre de Paris' players have often been criticised for their rather stiff playing, but Chung managed to get them to loosen up — especially the strings, who for once produced a well-rounded, homogeneous sound with plenty of vibrato.

The adagietto, which he perhaps took a trifle too slowly, had an introspective quality that steered completely clear of sentimentality, while the military marches and wind fanfares had a relentless quality that left one riveted. The horns gave a splendid performance. The finale, composed in the rather overtriumphant key of D major, was tinged with moments of doubt and human warmth.

Twenty minutes after the end of the concert, members of the audience were still chatting away in the entrance hall of the Salle Pleyel and on the pavement outside. As any seasoned concert-goer knows, that is something which happens only on exceptional occasions.

(October 4)

# Library move long overdue

Emmanuel de Roux

JEAN FAVIER, president of France's future national library, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), announced on October 1 that a decisive new stage had been reached in the library's computerisation, which had earlier caused delays.

In 1993, after expert advice was taken, it was decided to carry out a sweeping review of the computer system. The original design, says one analyst, "was like a huge gas factory — it could function either in its entirety or not at all — and the designers themselves got lost in it".

In 1994, the organisation of the computer department was completely changed and its staff increased from 12 to 45. After more ructions, a simpler and more flexible design was adopted which will enable a staggered, smoother opening of the library.

The first users of the BNF, now nearing completion at its Tolbiac site in Paris, will be allowed in on December 17, when the areas open to the public are due to be inaugurated. But researchers will have to wait until at least June or September 1998 before gaining access to the rooms designed for them.

The section of the library to be opened in December will use a CD-Rom pre-programme for the catalogue of the open-access shelves and an Irec software package for tickets. By May 1999 all the BNF's departments will have been completely computerised.

Financial problems remain. The BNF is expected to cost between 1 billion and 1.2 billion francs a year to run, or almost 9 per cent of the culture ministry's total budget. The finance ministry has been trying to shave those costs. But the only way to cut the budget back significantly would be to shed jobs. That seems difficult. The BNF now employs more than 2,000 people, and by the time it opens fully in 1998 it will need a further 300-400 staff. One solution would be to reduce the library's opening times. But users of Tolbiac can hardly be expected to be given access for fewer hours a day than they were in the present library.

A successor will also have to be found for Jean Favier, whose term of office ends in January. It cannot be extended because of his age. All in all, the home straight of the BNF's opening has turned out to be bumpier than expected.

(October 2)

# Archive left out in the cold

Jean-Michel Frodon

**THE Cinémathèque Française, the prestigious film archive founded by Henri Langlois, is soon to be homeless. This is because of a lack of co-ordination between two ambitious culture ministry projects.**

**One of them, the Centre de Chaillot Heritage Museum, is expected to take up almost the whole of the Palais de Chaillot building, including premises now occupied by the Musée Henri-Langlois and the Cinémathèque's offices (the film theatre, in the short term, will not have to move).**

**According to the Chaillot schedule, the Cinémathèque was to be allowed time to find other premises. So its board of directors were startled when, without ever being officially notified by the culture ministry, they were told by architects working on the Chaillot project that they would have to get out by January 1997.**

**According to Cinémathèque sources, the haste with which the ministry has acted is due to its desire to "have something to inaugurate" before the 1998 general election — which the Chaillot project's initial schedule would not have permitted.**

**Reactions are particularly bitter because another project, first mooted 10 years ago, is making little headway. The government promised to turn the Palais de Tokyo, a stone's throw from Chaillot, into a "cinema palace" of which the Cinémathèque would be the centrepiece.**

**None of the timetables for the project announced by four successive culture ministers has been respected. Work on the project started, but was then halted indefinitely. The Femis film school, one of the institutions due to be housed in the Palais de Tokyo, now wants to stay on at its temporary premises in Montmartre.**

**Putting the exhibits of the Musée Henri-Langlois into packing cases poses immense logistical problems. It is symbolic too of the lack of respect the ministry shows the museum. But the worst thing of all is that the authorities have failed to keep any of their pledges about the Cinémathèque's future home. They have told it to go, but not where it can go to.**

**(October 2)**

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani


GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 20 1996



# Clinton 'To Intensify U.S. Role in Africa'

Thomas W. Lippman in Johannesburg

CHALLENGING the widespread view that the end of the Cold War diminished Africa's importance to the United States, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said last weekend that President Clinton "is determined to intensify American engagement in Africa" because "it is in our interest to help Africa succeed."

He said the United States stands to benefit economically, politically and environmentally from partnership with a new Africa, a partnership he said was "impossible when Africa was divided by Cold War cleavages and superpower rivalries."

As African states embrace democracy, Christopher said, they will be better able to ward off armed conflicts, their ability to cope with natural calamities will grow and their buying power will increase, all trends he said are beneficial to the United States as well as Africa.

Christopher addressed students and faculty members at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa's pre-eminent institution of higher learning, in what aides said was the showcase policy speech of his five-nation Africa tour. They said it was addressed as much to Americans as to African listeners because the administration wants to develop domestic support for deeper U.S. involvement in Africa.

President Nelson Mandela, who met with Christopher in Cape Town, delivered a mixed response to Christopher's appeal for participation in a U.S.-sponsored African military force to provide assistance in the continent's recurrent crises. He said the idea "has potential" but would have greater credibility if the force were organized and deployed by the United Nations.

Christopher, who has been telling the Africans that Washington devised the intervention plan precisely because the U.N. has not done so, said he was "not at all" disappointed with Mandela's answer. "It's exactly the kind of exploration that we want to have to get the views of the countries in the region," he said.

As throughout the trip, Christopher and his aides faced questions from local officials and journalists about the depth of U.S. interest in Africa. Many of the questioners cited the three-and-a-half-year gap between the 1993 speech in which Christopher pledged to give the continent "the attention it deserves" and this, his first, visit.

But several other senior administration officials have been to Africa, including the late Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, who developed a personal commitment to U.S. economic partnership with post-apartheid South Africa.

"No one ever worked harder or with more success [than Brown] to broaden and diversify our trade and investment relationship with Africa," Christopher said. "We are carrying on Ron's work." Already, he added, U.S. exports to sub-Saharan Africa "exceed those to the former Soviet Union," and they will grow as more African countries shed the state-managed economic systems of the post-colonial era.

To shore up his argument that the administration has not neglected Africa, Christopher cited the U.S. role in brokering peace agreements in Angola and Mozambique, the 1994 humanitarian airlift into Rwanda, the administration's efforts to forestall further conflict and famine in the Horn of Africa and Washington's support for an effort to eliminate land mines left over from the continent's many wars.

"I will not pretend to you that there is no debate in America about Africa's relative importance," Christopher said. "But my trip to Africa . . . has only strengthened my conviction that America must stay engaged on this continent. I intend to build on the experiences of this visit to make that case to the American people."

Christopher said Africa "is at a crossroads," struggling to emerge from a generation-long era of military rule, one-party states and controlled economies. In his speech and in response to questions afterward, he fired rhetorical shots at governments he said are not helpful in this process.

He said the United States is "very concerned" about human-rights abuses by the military government of Nigerian Gen. Sani Abacha and is prepared to support additional steps to isolate that regime.

"Nigeria should be a leader in Africa. But its rulers have squandered their nation's potential and made it the poorest 'oil-rich' country on earth," Christopher said.

"New leadership" is needed in Zaire, he said. Aides said afterward that this was not a call for ousting President Mobutu Sese Seko but a restatement of a long-standing U.S. demand for restoration of Zairian democracy through free elections.

Christopher did not mention France by name, but everyone understood who his target was when he said, "The time has passed when outside powers could view whole groups of states as their private domain."

This was a reference to French criticism of Christopher's trip, which began in Mali, one of the West African countries the French regard as within their sphere of influence. Last week, Jacques Godfrain, the French cabinet official responsible for relations with former colonies, said the trip was politically motivated, with an eye to the black vote in the U.S. presidential election.

French officials were quoted last week in news reports as suggesting that a proposed U.S.-led role on the African continent would trespass on traditional French territory. The French still consider a former colonial domain that once stretched across West and Central Africa to be their back yard, much as Americans consider the Caribbean to be theirs.

South African President Nelson Mandela meets with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in Cape Town last weekend PHOTO SASA KRALJ

# U.S. Crime Rate Hits 10-Year Low

Pierre Thomas

THE U.S. crime rate fell to the lowest level in a decade, the FBI reports in its yearly survey of law enforcement agencies, with the rate of violent crime in 1995 dropping 4 percent from the previous year.

The reduction was fueled by a dramatic 8 percent decrease in the rate of murders, along with a smaller decline in rapes, robberies and aggravated assaults, says the the report, released last weekend. Overall, 21,597 murders were recorded in 1995, 13 percent fewer than in 1991. The rate of property crime fell by 1 percent to 12 million offenses, the lowest number since 1987.

Attorney General Janet Reno and other law enforcement experts attributed the continuing drop in crime to several factors, including maturing and less violent crack cocaine markets, increases in the number of police officers on the streets, improved coordination between federal, state and local authorities, and more prisons.

The survey, known as the FBI Uniform Crime Report, was compiled from crimes reported to more than 16,000 law enforcement agencies covering 95 percent of the nation's population. Preliminary figures, documenting the drop in serious crime, were released in May.

Release of the new numbers comes as the presidential race heads into its final leg, and the report was quickly embraced by President Clinton as evidence that efforts to combat violence are working. Clinton has come under attack by his Republican opponent, Bob Dole, for not doing enough about crime.

"All Americans can be pleased with today's report that our nation's crime rate is at a 10-year low," Clinton said in a statement released by the White House. "Our anti-crime strategy — to put more police on the street while working to get drugs, gangs and guns out of our neighborhoods — is working."

Reno and others who follow law enforcement were still reluctant to suggest that the country has resolved its crime woes, which continue to rank in public opinion polls as a chief concern for citizens, particularly for those in areas that have not seen dramatic declines.

Nationally, every region of the country except the West showed drops from 1994 crime levels, with each category of serious crime showing modest declines. The lowest level of crime was reported in the Northeast.

Reno said that despite improvement in many areas, juvenile crime had risen, and remained a prime concern. In fact, the one category showing a slight increase was larceny, often associated with juveniles.

"The larceny increase could be an early warning signal that more young people are coming of crime-committing age," said Alfred Blumstein, a criminologist at Carnegie Mellon University.

Experts predict the rapid growth in the number of juvenile offenders, which only recently stabilized, could become worse with a surge in the teenage and young adult population in the next decade.

# Tiananmen Square Protester Charged

Steven Mufson in Beijing

CHINA will try former student leader Wang Dan for "conspiring to subvert the government," punishable by at least 10 years in prison, human rights groups in the United States said last weekend.

Wang, 26, has been in detention for nearly 17 months without being charged, granted a hearing or given access to lawyers or family. If convicted, he faces 10 or more years in jail and possibly the death sentence. Conviction is almost certain; in China, trials are usually mere formalities before sentencing.

Wang was also accused of "publishing anti-government articles abroad," accepting a scholarship from the University of California and "joining other dissidents to set up a mutual aid plan," the human rights groups said.

The charges are the latest setback for China's dissident movement. More than seven years after government troops crushed the student-led protests in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, government critics face harsh repression for speaking their minds. Last week Chinese police arrested leading dissident Liu Xiaobo and, without trial, sent him to a labor camp for three years. Two other activists have disappeared and are presumed to be in police custody: Wang Xizhe, based in the southern city of Guangzhou, and Wang Hui, who has campaigned for the release of her husband, detained in a labor camp. (Wang Xizhe, Wang Hui and Wang Dan are not related.)

Government authorities indicated their plans for Wang Dan when the Beijing People's Intermediate Court informed Wang's mother, Wang Lingyun, that she had one day to find her son a lawyer.

The move to put Wang Dan on trial is a clear signal of the government's determination to keep a lid on China's top dissidents.

"They have decided to make an example of Wang Dan as they did Wei Jingsheng," said Robin Munro of Human Rights Watch-Asia. Wei, China's most prominent dissident, was sentenced last December to 14 years in jail on similar charges. At Wei's trial, prosecutors used his talks with Wang Dan as evidence against Wei. Most of those conversations concerned ways to raise money for the families of jailed political prisoners and for unemployed former prisoners.

Wang Dan has been at the forefront of the dissident movement for nearly a decade. He was a leader of "lawn seminars" at Beijing University in 1988 that later became democratic salons. In 1989, he was one of the co-founders of the Beijing University students' federation and was a leader of the Tiananmen protests. A member of the hunger strike committee, he took part in negotiations with government leaders. He later expressed regret for not trying harder to end the demonstrations before the army stepped in.

Although he was considered to be a moderating influence on the most radical student leaders, Wang was put at the top of the government's most-wanted list after troops drove protesters from the square on June 4, 1989. He was arrested later that year and served four years of a six-year prison sentence.

After his release in 1993, Wang Dan wrote in favor of democratic reforms, the release of political prisoners and a reversal of the Communist Party's verdict on the Tiananmen Square protests. During this period, he complained about police harassment and said he feared for his life. In May 1995, he signed a petition asking the government to show its critics greater tolerance; on May 21, 1995, he was detained again.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 20 1996

# El Salvador Death Squads Reappear

**Douglas Farah in San Salvador**

WHEN El Salvador's bloody 12-year civil war ended four years ago, the shadowy paramilitary groups responsible for thousands of killings were supposed to be disbanded, and a new police force formed to end decades of lawless violence and impunity.

But political, diplomatic and intelligence sources say powerful groups on the far right and the extreme left remain intact, despite the government's promise to eradicate them. The groups seek to destabilize the fragile peace process, the sources said, but they also run criminal organizations.

While the nation is not poised to return to war, the euphoria of peace has soured as the paramilitary groups have become more visible with political kidnappings, extortions, two car bombings and threatening communiqués like those of the death squads in the 1980s.

There is a sense of disquiet and fear here not felt since the conservative government of the Republican Nationalist Alliance (Arena) and the Marxist-led Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) signed a United Nations-brokered peace agreement in 1992. That agreement slashed the size of the army, purged the most notorious human rights violators, disbanded the old security forces, and disarmed the FMLN and allowed it to become a legal political party. Arena's Armando Calderon Sol won the 1994 presidential election.

"We are extremely worried about the situation because of the increasing polarization," said Victoria Aviles, the government's human rights ombudsman, who has received death threats from the far right recently. "It seems the past is returning, where ideas are not fought with ideas, but with physical extermination. And there is still a mantle of impunity."

During the war, the United States spent more than $4 billion to support the government, while the Soviet Bloc supported the FMLN. Human rights groups say right-wing death squads murdered about 40,000 of the 70,000 people killed during the 1980-92 war.

Knowledgeable sources say there are now at least six sophisticated armed groups with extensive intelligence networks, responding to different political masters. While most are controlled by the far right, which is opposed to the peace process, the extreme left has at least one armed group.

The fears crystallized with the release last month after a year in harrowing captivity of the 14-year-old son of Saul Suster, a close friend of former president Alfredo Cristiani. Both men are leaders of Arena's moderate wing and are seen as traitors by the far right for negotiating with the FMLN.

"This kidnapping was very targeted, to show [the armed groups] could strike directly against those with power," said a source close to the far right. "They were showing they could get anyone, anywhere, and there was nothing the police or the government can do about it."

Since then, some wealthy families have sent their children abroad. As the threats have grown, political candidates have withdrawn their nominations, and human rights workers said hundreds of people have left the areas where the armed groups are most active. The National Civilian Police, a cornerstone of the peace plan intended to break the links to the violent past here, has not dismantled the groups.

Several senior policemen have been linked to organized crime, and little progress has been made in purging the force of criminal elements. Even the few successes have been fleeting. In August, when police raided a restaurant where regional drug lords were meeting, they did not have enough manpower to seal the exits effectively and everyone escaped.

In an August report to the U.N. Security Council, Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned of "increasing signs" that the police were becoming "an instrument of authoritarianism that is not accountable to the public."

U.N. officials are especially concerned because of the findings of a special U.N. commission mandated to study political violence in El Salvador. Its July 1994 report to President Calderon found there were "illegal, armed groups that carry out summary executions, threats and other acts of intimidation with political ends . . . It would be impossible for these criminal structures to exist without the support of senior members of the security forces."

Calderon promised action. But a diplomat who worked on the report said that so far, "we have not seen the political will by the government or the police to end these structures. The same report could be written today, only it is worse because now those people realize nothing will ever come of the investigation."

The deterioration comes as the U.N. mission, which once had hundreds of monitors, has been reduced to four. And in the United States, El Salvador has dropped off the agenda. There has been no U.S. ambassador since July, and it will take months for Congress to confirm a new one.

Vanesa Sosa, aged 7, from Mexico, joined tens of thousands of Hispanic demonstrators in Washington last Saturday at a rally against welfare and immigration reforms PHOTOGRAPH: JOSE MAGANA

# Thousands of Latinos March on Capital

**Pamela Constable**

THOUSANDS of Latinos from across the country rallied near the White House last Saturday in their first march on Washington, asking America to treat them with respect and warning politicians not to take them for granted.

The gathering was one of exuberance and anger, and a sign that the nation's 30 million Latinos — the fastest-growing minority group in the nation — are beginning to organize and stand up for their rights.

Speakers and participants from as far as Los Angeles and New York as well as area residents said they had come to assert themselves at a time when immigrants are being made to feel unwelcome.

"I'm tired of being told I'm a burden. I am fulfilling a dream, I am aspiring to get ahead, and I believe there are no limits to what we can do if we become active participants in this country," said Marguerita Soto, 24, a law student from Dover, New Jersey, whose parents emigrated from Peru.

"We are Americans because we believe in the Constitution, in equality and justice before the law for everyone," said Juan Jose Gutierrez, the chief coordinator of the march. "Sometimes it seems the reactionary forces of darkness are carrying the day, but we are more than they are, and we will find a door to let the light in again."

Organizers estimated that about 25,000 people attended the rally at the Ellipse, a number they said had exceeded their expectations. The U.S. Park Police said that under a new policy, they would not provide a crowd estimate.

In the past, many Latinos have not been eligible to vote and thus have been limited in their political influence. But in the last two years, record numbers of legal residents have been applying for U.S. citizenship, in part to defend themselves against anti-immigrant sentiment and legislative proposals.

The rally was more significant in its symbolism and diversity than in the number of people it attracted. There were Puerto Rican garment workers from Queens, New York, Guatemalan Indian activists from Dallas, Mexican American students from Chicago, Ecuadoran civic groups from Los Angeles, Salvadoran refugees from Maryland and even a contingent of 500 Bangladeshis from Brooklyn, New York.

There were celebrities such as Geraldo Rivera and people such as Ramon Baez, 58, a carpenter from the Bronx, New York, whose 12-year-old-son died in a scuffle with a police officer two years ago. Earlier this month, in a controversial ruling that provoked street protests, a judge found the officer not guilty of manslaughter because the boy had suffered from asthma. "In this country, we are still seen as second-class citizens, and our only strength against abuse is in being united," said Baez.

Officially, the march championed a list of seven demands, including raising the minimum wage to $7 per hour, guaranteeing free education for all children from kindergarten through college and providing legal amnesty to all undocumented or illegal immigrant workers.

Many Mexicans and Central Americans said amnesty and education were at the top of their list of concerns. Recent legislative proposals have sought to bar children of illegal immigrants from school, and an amnesty program for immigrants fleeing Central American wars was ended early this year.

# Lebed Picked as Russia's Most Trusted Politician

**Lee Hockstader in Moscow**

FOR most of the past month, no figure in Russian politics has been so regularly and savagely attacked as Alexander Lebed, the tough-guy chief of Russia's national security council, who negotiated a deal in August to end Moscow's war in Chechnya.

Nationalists have accused him of capitulating to the Chechen separatists; lawmakers have branded his peace accord unconstitutional; and Russia's top crime-fighting official has suggested that Lebed, despite his law-and-order rhetoric, associates with shady characters.

The result? Lebed is by far the most trusted politician in the country.

That is the finding of a poll published last week in the newspaper Sevodnya. The survey of 2,430 people, conducted last month by the respected All-Russian Center for Public Opinion Research, showed that 40 percent of respondents picked Lebed among the politicians they trust most. No other politician got even half as much support in the poll.

The survey confirms what analysts here have been saying in recent weeks — Lebed, who makes no secret of his presidential ambitions, is by far the front-running candidate to succeed ailing President Boris Yeltsin — who is to undergo heart surgery as soon as his overall health improves enough to withstand the rigors of the operation.

Ever since Lebed brokered a halt to the fighting in Chechnya, his popularity among Russians has skyrocketed, despite — or perhaps because of — the barrage of attacks on him by Russian politicians. Russians are fond of saying they love an underdog. At the same time they tend to harbor a deep-seated suspicion and often intense dislike of the collective political establishment.

The last time a prominent Kremlin officeholder was singled out for the kind of vitriol being heaped on Lebed was in 1987; the victim was Yeltsin, and his tormentors included virtually the entire hierarchy of the Soviet Communist Party.

Along with Lebed's energetic and widely admired efforts to bring a costly and humiliating war to an end, the spectacle of so many powerful men ganging up on him has, predictably, done wonders for his public image. "Why has Alexander Lebed become the target of these attacks?" asked Otto Latsis, a commentator with the newspaper Izvestia. "It is very simple. [He] makes no secret of his presidential ambitions."

The knives came out with a vengeance for the gruff retired army general last week when he went to Belgium for three days of talks with top NATO officials. No sooner had he boarded the plane for Brussels than his rivals declared it open season on him.

Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov, himself a presidential hopeful, heaped scorn on the Chechen peace deal, which he said threatens to fragment Russia, and he condemned Lebed's blatant presidential ambitions.

The Russian prosecutor general, Yuri Skuratov, also denounced the peace accord, which he said has no force in law.

Russia's top police official, Internal Affairs Minister Anatoly Kulikov, who seldom wastes an opportunity to express contempt for anything that smacks of peace in Chechnya, challenged the negotiated settlement.

Among Russia's most prominent politicians and presidential hopefuls, only Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has refrained from hopping on the get-Lebed bandwagon.

In the poll published last week, the man identified by Russians as the second-most trusted politician is Communist Party leader Gennady Zyuganov, who lost a presidential runoff to Yeltsin in July. But with only 16 percent calling him trustworthy, he lagged far behind Lebed.

Chernomyrdin was mentioned by 14 percent of respondents in the survey, followed by free-market economist Grigory Yavlinsky, with 12 percent. Yeltsin was rated as trustworthy by 11 percent.



GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 20 1996



# Quarter of Mammal Species Face Risk of Extinction

**Rick Weiss**

ONE-FOURTH of the world's species of mammals are threatened with extinction, and about half of those may be gone in as little as a decade, according to the most complete global analysis of endangered animal species ever compiled.

The report, which several conservationists described as surprising and frightening, was released this month by the IUCN-World Conservation Union, the recently renamed international body that has collected endangered species data for more than 35 years.

Unlike previous versions of the group's so-called Red List of endangered species, the updated version uses a newly adopted set of objective criteria of endangerment, scientists said. The new system suggests that previous estimates of the number of endangered species worldwide may have been too low.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbit called the report "probably the most thorough scientific assessment of the state of the world's wildlife ever undertaken . . . Unless people of all nations make extraordinary efforts, we face a looming natural catastrophe of almost Biblical proportions."

This year's list is the first to evaluate all 4,600 known species of mammals, the class of animal that includes all warmblooded, milk-producing animals. It finds 1,096 at risk. And it concludes that about a third of 275 primate species examined are also at risk, nearly three times the percentage previously believed.

George Rabb, director of Chicago's Brookfield Zoo and a member of the Swiss-based IUCN's species survival commission, which compiled the data from more than 7,000 scientists, government officials and others, said the main factor threatening species survival is fragmentation and degradation of habitats by humans. Pollution is also a major factor, Rabb said.

The international compilation has no direct effect on U.S. listings under the Endangered Species Act. That act recognizes two categories of extinction risk, endangered and threatened, and uses criteria different from the IUCN's. Currently the United States recognizes 960 domestic species as endangered or threatened, including 64 mammals.

By contrast, the IUCN recognizes three levels of risk — critically endangered, endangered and vulnerable — with precise definitions that depend on surviving numbers of adults, rapidity of decline, and specific habitat pressures. Among other criteria, the three categories are assigned to species that have either 80 percent, 50 percent or 20 percent odds of disappearing within 10 years or three generations of the affected animal.

Scientists emphasized that the Red List remains largely incomplete, since so few of the world's species have been identified and assessed for their survivability. About 1.7 million species are known, out of a total that some believe may exceed 50 million. Many scientists believe that countless extinctions are proceeding without notice, although the accuracy and significance of that supposition remains contentious.

# Black Brit Across the Atlantic

OPINION
**Gary Younge**

BEFORE I came to America from England three months ago, I asked an American journalist in London what kind of reactions to expect. "Well, when they hear an English accent Americans usually add about 20 points to your IQ. But when they see a black face they usually don't," he said. "You'll be an anomaly."

Recalling that the authors of the book The Bell Curve had claimed that black people have an IQ 15 points lower than whites, I was heartened to think that even in the eyes of the most hardened racist I would still come out at least five points ahead.

After three months here I am left wondering whether "anomaly" quite covers the mixture of bemusement, amazement and curiosity I have encountered since I arrived. Often people just think I am showing off. This is especially the case with African Americans. All I have to do is open my mouth and they prime themselves to ask, "Who are you trying to impress with that accent?" They don't actually say anything. Their thoughts are revealed in the downward trajectory of the eyebrows and the curl of the lip.

Once I say I'm English, the eyebrows go back up and the lips uncurl. Now they are in shock. At times I have had to literally give the people I have met here a couple of minutes to compose themselves. "I had no idea," said a white woman near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in a tone my grandmother might use if I came out as a cross-dresser.

Then there was the woman in the bank who called her colleagues over to hear my accent. "Listen to this, listen to this," she said. "Go, say something," she demanded, as though I was a circus marmoset.

Most people here who have not traveled much abroad seem astounded to learn that black people exist outside of America and Africa at all. Their image of England is what they see on television (Fawlty Towers and Upstairs Downstairs) and what they read in the papers (Lady Di and Mad Cow's Disease). Whether that is the image that England wants to sell or the one that America wants to buy is not quite clear — my guess is that it's a mixture of both — but either way it doesn't leave much room for black people.

Once I have told someone I am English they are generally prepared to take me at my word, which is more than can be said about people I meet back home. A typical conversation goes something like this:

"Where are you from?"

"London."

"Well where were you born?"

"London."

"Well, before then?"

"There was no before then!"

"Well, where are your parents from?"

"Barbados."

"Oh, so you're from Barbados."

"No, I'm from London."

Although there have been blacks in Britain for centuries, they only came there in sizable numbers after the second world war. During the 1950s and 1960s they came from Africa and the Caribbean — alongside those from the Indian subcontinent — to do the sorts of jobs that the indigenous white population wasn't eager to do.

My parents came to England from Barbados in the early '60s and I was born there. Like many immigrants they only planned to stay for a few years, work hard, earn some money and then return home. But like many immigrants they ended up staying, starting a family and building a life there. Blacks now make up about 3 percent of the British population.

Britain's sense of national identity is still trying to catch up. But in the meantime questions like "Where are you from?" are often interpreted to mean, "Please tell me you are not from here."

Which is why meeting so many Americans with names like Gugliotta, Biskupic and Shapiro is so refreshing. Almost everybody here is originally from somewhere else. Even the white people. And most people lay claim to another identity — Italian American, Irish American, Hungarian American — which qualifies their American identity but does not necessarily undermine it.

The same is true for black Briton. They are two separate words relating to two very distinct and often conflicting identities. If black people in Britain define themselves as British at all — I was 17 before I would admit it publicly — then they will usually put black in front of it to show that they do not see themselves as fully British and are not always accepted as British. At the NAACP's annual convention, which I recently attended in Charlotte, North Carolina, there seemed to be only three higher authorities to which the speakers called upon — God, the Constitution and the American flag.

The NAACP may represent the "old school" of African American politics but throughout my time here I have yet to meet an African American who does not place some faith in these common reference points. Britain, in contrast, doesn't have a written constitution, is far less religious, and you wouldn't get a Union Jack (the British flag) within five miles of a political meeting full of black people, regardless of how moderate the organization may be.

This may change in time. But for now the difference seems stark. Black Americans who feel aggrieved can, and often do, look to the symbolism of their national flag as a form of redress. Black Britons see their flag not as a possible solution but as part of the problem.

For Americans, this seems to breed a kind of confidence that allows a more open discussion of race issues than in my country. During my interview for the fellowship at The Washington Post that brought me here, I was asked what problems I faced as a black journalist in Britain. An Englishman would never ask that sort of question. It would be considered . . . well, rude.

I was amazed, on a day trip to Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, recently, to see an all-white group of cub scouts learning all about how John Brown fought alongside black abolitionists and the legacy of Frederick Douglass. White kids learning about black history on a day out during the summer holidays. At the time I felt like I had died and gone to heaven.

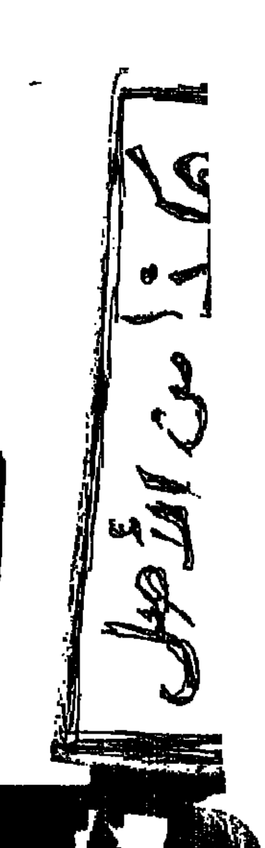
Upon reflection it was much more like purgatory. I know that one of the reasons that Americans discuss race so much is because there is so much to talk about. Both the present — affirmative action, the demise of the inner cities, poverty, church burnings — and the past — civil rights, slavery, segregation — offer no end of subjects that can and should be debated.

Nevertheless, in England, which has similar but nowhere near as acute social problems affecting the black community, race ranks alongside sex, politics and religion as a topic not to be brought up in polite conversation. At my newspaper in London I was once described to someone as "the short, stocky guy with an earring," even though I am one of only half a dozen black journalists in the building.

Here I look local and sound foreign — an object of intrigue in public places. At home I look foreign and sound local — and everybody tries hard not to notice. To say one is better or worse than the other would be too simplistic. The bottom line is that I will soon return to a racism I understand.

But I will miss those extra 20 IQ points for my accent.

# War With Memory



**Anthony Hecht**

DOING BATTLE: The Making of a Skeptic
By Paul Fussell
Little Brown. 309pp. $24.95

THIS is an extraordinary memoir. Genuinely modest, candid about foibles and failures, it refuses to posture or boast, and is self-deprecating, honest and, in retrospect, more cheerful than any reader would be entitled to expect. It must immediately be added that the book is also an outraged, embattled and blistering indictment of the standard pieties of the world. Reading it won my perfect consent for three reasons. I am a great admirer of Paul Fussell's The Great War And Modern Memory, and this new work satisfied high expectations; the book wittily and eloquently recalls Robert Graves' enduringly powerful World War I recollections, Goodbye To All That; and everything Fussell writes here bears out with the almost uncanny precision of memory recovered from determined suppression the outlines of my own life.

Like a small epic, Fussell begins on March 12, 1945, as a 20-year-old platoon leader of the 410th Infantry. Sudden orders, "impatient, shrill, and, finally, insulting" send the platoon into a barrage of rifle and machine-gun fire, killing and wounding many, pinning the rest to the ground, and closing page 8 with "an unspeakably loud metallic clang!", after which the narrator's mind drifts painlessly back to before its own beginnings: to ancestry, a serene, privileged, upper-middle-class California childhood, with admirable parents and siblings, full of conventional deferences and hypocrisies and the stirrings of early erotic life.

This essentially taintless past occupies the first, nearly lyric third of the book, though through the cloud we have glimpses of the folly of standard training procedures, the homicidal fury and carnage engendered by combat, and the stupidity of most of the brass, who are never near enough to the front to understand what war really is.

Fussell's own induction into such knowledge was swift and terrible. "Suddenly I knew that I was not and would never be in a world that was reasonable or just. To transform silly conscripts into cold marble after passing them through unbearable humiliation and fear seemed to do them an interesting injustice," he comments with the controlled understatement that characterizes almost all the "combat," or second third of the book, though he does not stint on precise descriptions of the sort of atrocities that are common to infantry experience.

"I learned to kill with a noose of piano wire and with a sudden knife — thrust up under the rib cage. And I learned more. I learned to relish the prospect of killing this way and to rejoice in the conviction of power and superiority it gave me . . . The junior officer in the infantry is in essence a soldier, whose ability to kill . . . must be as efficient and as untroubled by scruple as the lowest GI's," the author remarks, and anyone who thinks this barbaric has no firsthand knowledge of infantry warfare.

What is ultimately shocking is the blinkered naivety of a society that can take decent-hearted young men, transform them into unfeeling monsters, and then, if they survive, expect them to return to civilian life as though nothing had happened. Examples of routine barbarity are presented with the detachment to which front-line troops must aspire simply to survive: "a severe closing-off of normal human sympathy so that you can look dry-eyed and undisturbed at the most appalling things. For the naturally compassionate, this is profoundly painful, and it changes your life."

The most graphic and moving section of the book is this one, and the reader rejoices for the author's sake when he finally survives and is discharged, though he has suffered two severe wounds, one to his back, another to his leg, the second of which had to be operated on twice because the surgeon who originally removed shrapnel accidentally left some odds and ends inside the wound when it was sewn up.

After the war, Fussell, tense with distrust amounting almost to detestation of all authority, turned, like many others, to the benign order and harmony of literature with something like a hope of redemption: "We all hoped . . . that our efforts would help restore subtlety, civility and decency after their wartime disappearance. This seemed almost a religious act, demanding . . . complete emotional and spiritual commitment. The world was now to be saved from its folly, brutality and coarseness of conscience by the techniques of close reading and disciplined education." While in Fussell's case this devotion produced some wonderful books, it did not quiet his rage at having been shunted "from college to professional killer, and then to benign professor."

HIS DUTIES at his first teaching job (Connecticut College) were Augean, remedial, and paid him $3,200 a year. Twenty-eight years of teaching at Rutgers is described in the manner of a David Lodge fantasy of academic bumbling and lunatic incompetence: "When I left . . . I no longer expected anything to be done right." (Yet later, inexplicably, he writes of the many years "I'd spent happily teaching at Rutgers.") There are some other discrepancies. He praises Ike, "the only general my troops and I respected — for his kindness, his understanding of the soldiers' needs and fears, his distance from vainglory and love of violence manifested in General Patton," but forgets that as president Ike condemned Private Eddie Slovik to death by firing-squad for desertion, though Fussell, in his account of a German attack on New Year's Day, 1945, plainly says "Quite a few deserted," and poor, scapegoat Slovik was no more guilty than they.

But Fussell's chief rage — already chronicled in Thank God For The Atom Bomb And Other Essays — is reserved for those who pietistically deplore America's destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and who claim that this shames our nation. "Because we killed civilians?" he asks derisively. "We'd been doing that for years, as a matter of policy, in raids on Hamburg and Cologne and Frankfurt and Mannheim and Dresden and Tokyo." Fussell calls such expression of guilt "canting nonsense," and among the lives saved by this instantaneous abbreviation of the war were Fussell's, William Styron's, my own, and those of countless Japanese.

# The Pleasure of His Company

**Bridgette A. Lacy**

THE SEASONS OF BEENTO BLACKBIRD
By Akosua Busia
Little, Brown. 367pp. $22.95

IMAGINE a man who is "a broad-shouldered six-foot-four silhouette headed across the tarmac like a panther on the prowl . . . Focused. Upright. Full of power." Did I mention that this man spends winters with one wife on a Caribbean island and summers with another in a small village in Ghana?

This guy's got everything, until his summer wife meets his winter wife and then comes a hurricane.

The Seasons Of Beento Blackbird is the first novel by Akosua Busia, the Ghana-born actress who played Nettie in the movie The Color Purple. In this beautifully crafted love story, filled with fantasy and lyricism, we meet Solomon Eustace Wilberforce, a children's author who travels the globe in search of tales to weave into his books. In the off-seasons, he holes up in his Harlem apartment to write, under the pseudonym Beento Blackbird.

Solomon is the kind of man any woman could fall in love with. Frankly, I did too. His loving is intense, physically and mentally. He appreciates these women down to their bones.

And his two women are happy to get his attention.



Miriam, his Caribbean wife, who is also the midwife who delivered him when she was 9 years old, has quite a ritual for his visits. She always sees him on the second night of his arrival, and their reunion is always signaled by the rain. "Miriam was awakened by the call of raindrops drumming on the roof, knocking on the door, splash-tapping against the windowpane . . . She jumped out of bed. Stripped off the sheets. Rolled them. Tossed them into the treasure chest. Grabbing one of the clean embroidered ones off the dresser, she flung it open, high across the bed, its essence of sea and sunshine filling the room."

Everywhere Solomon goes, the welcome mat is out. He met his African wife, Ashia, eight years ago when she was a youngster crying at her father's funeral. Ashia's whole African family — a small village — comes out to welcome Solomon, and they all catch up on what's happened between visits. After he's soaked in his wife's company and gathered a fresh supply of stories from the village, he dashes off to New York. The two wives know about each other and accept the arrangement, but they're not happy. As time wears on, they realize they're both paying a price. They need more than a few months with the man they love. It takes all four seasons to love someone: the highs and the lows, the storms and the calm, the winter and the summer.

Inside Solomon's heart is a fearful mother. He remembers her warning him, "Don't love any one person or place too much, Solomon. Love but don't attach to anyone. Love widely. Don't let no one person confine you." She learned that misguided lesson when she was made pregnant at 15 by a 27-year-old American businessman who didn't mention he had a wife back home.

Eventually, Solomon makes a decision about his life and his wives, and being the extraordinary people they all are, it's one they can all live with. And so can we.

# Frolicking in a Persian Garden

**Gelareh Asayesh**

MY UNCLE NAPOLEON
By Iraj Pezeshkzad
Translated from the Persian
by Dick Davis
Mage. 507pp. $29.95

MY UNCLE Napoleon is a surprising novel, a raunchy, irreverent, hilarious farce wrapped around a core of quiet sorrow. Iranian novelist Iraj Pezeshkzad embroils us in the zany antics of an upper-class Iranian family. The book is like one long party, building from one absurd crisis to the next. Laughing our way through, we are unprepared when the party is suddenly over, the uproar replaced by resonant stillness.

The story opens in Iran in the early 1940s. In a Tehran garden, at precisely 2:45 one Friday afternoon in August, the unnamed 13-year-old narrator falls in love. The object of his love is his playmate and cousin, Layli. Her father is the Uncle Napoleon of the book's title. The country is on the brink of the Allied invasion, but the garden becomes the scene of another, more personal battle between the narrator's father and Uncle Napoleon. Nicknamed for his idol, Uncle Napoleon likes to tell fictional accounts of his battles with the British. As the revered head of the aristocratic clan that lives within the enclosed garden, Uncle Napoleon is never contradicted. Only the narrator's father dares to show disbelief.

The result is a family feud that takes on absurd yet tragic dimensions. Uncle Napoleon's conviction that the British are after him provides the denouement of a tale that is at once a love story, a satire and a farce — but somehow manages to be more than the sum of these parts.

When it was published in Iran in 1970, Dayi-Jan Napoleon became a national phenomenon. For a generation of Iranians, the words "San Francisco" became a euphemism for having sex — thanks to another of the narrator's uncles, Asadollah Mirza, Pezeshkzad's irrepressible antihero.

Asadollah is a lecherous, fun-loving diplomat whose answer to most problems is a trip to "San Francisco." Despite his mischievousness, only Asadollah labors to heal the family breach and the hurts it inflicts on his young nephew. His efforts are alternately aided and thwarted by a Neanderthal butcher married to the neighborhood floozy, an overbearing detective with an "internationally known system of surprise attack" and Uncle Napoleon's faithful servant, Mash Ghasem.

In the original, the novel drew much of its authenticity from its salty colloquialisms and perceptive detailing of cultural foibles. British-born Dick Davis, who is married to an Iranian and has spent years in Iran, manages to evoke this richness in a translation that is faithful without being literal.

Davis also provides ample cultural and historical context in his preface to the novel. His account of Iran's history of British exploitation is an essential backdrop for the work. It helps explain why Hitler, abhorred in the West, was viewed in Iran only in the context of his enmity with England. Pezeshkzad lampoons the widespread Iranian belief that British — or American — conspiracies are everywhere. Yet even as he pokes fun at Uncle Napoleon for blaming his domestic tangles on the British, the author validates the profound mistrust Iranians feel toward Western governments — a mistrust rooted in painful realities.

Davis's remarkable achievement is a gift both to readers fascinated by other cultures and to lovers of fiction for fiction's sake. At a time when most Americans' views of Iran are shaped by the nightly news, My Uncle Napoleon captures the humanity of a people long caricaturized in the West.

But Pezeshkzad, like any author of substance, transcends his cultural boundaries. His writing is full of gusto and humor. My Uncle Napoleon poignantly evokes that communality of life that is so quintessentially Eastern.

The quiet epilogue stands in stark contrast with the rest of the work. Understated and eloquent, it is written by a man who has left childhood too far behind. His family has scattered across the globe. His life is empty of the exquisite highs, the anguished lows, of his youth. My Uncle Napoleon tells the wrenching story of a boy's, and a country's, loss of innocence.







# Sleazebusters step up war against global corruption

**Richard Thomas**

EVEN by the standards of the Metropolitan Police, Peter Connor is a cynic. "The world divides into three types of people," he says. "Five per cent are always corrupt, 5 per cent are incorruptible, and 90 per cent are opportunists — people who just need the right circumstance to be corrupt."

As the head of the Met's anti-corruption unit, Detective Chief Inspector Connor is trying to hold back a growing tide of dirty dealing which is sweeping across the globe.

He reckons that a healthy dose of disrespect goes with the job. "The fraud investigator's primary tool is cynicism," he says. He has caught former school chums who stitched up contracts to a college, local authority officials entertained in lavish style in dubious nightspots, Inland Revenue inspectors overlooking tax bills for a backhander.

DCI Connor is certain the problem has worsened in the past 20 years. He identifies two trends which have helped to create fertile soil for bribery and blackmail.

First, the trend to strip out layers of middle management — in the public as well as private sector — has widened the scope for corrupt practices. "In every single case of corruption there has been a lack of supervision," he says. "Often for purely financial reasons, there is nobody looking over people's shoulder any more."

The second shift has been to produce deals worth corrupting for. DCI Connor says that the overwhelming majority of corruption cases in Britain are connected to the award of contracts. Compulsory contracting-out in local government and the new Private Finance Initiative have produced an explosion in the number of such deals.

Corruption, though, is now a global as well as a national and metropolitan problem. This month the World Bank called for a crackdown on the "cancer" of corrupt practices. The UK Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, used the Commonwealth finance ministers meeting in Bermuda to stress the need for coordinated international action.

Again, changes in the world's financial and trading markets are working against the forces of law and order. One way of detecting corruption is to follow money into the accounts of government officials or politicians. Mr Connor cites a case of a civil servant, earning $30,000 a year, who was rumbled when his bank reported a large payment into his account.

But liberalisation of the financial markets has made this task almost impossible. A trillion dollars crosses the City of London's foreign exchange screens every day.

As one US police officer, attending a recent conference on corruption in Cambridge, puts it: "It is like looking for a needle in a haystack, with the haystack doubling in size every few days."

Combined with offshore banking secrecy — which allows a veil to be drawn over the destination of a bribe — the volume of cash transactions across borders makes dirty money almost invisible.

As the opportunity for corruption grows, so do the means. Flush with money from the drugs trade organised crime gangs can buy off top-level politicans.

The days of a few used notes being slipped to lowly border guards are long gone in the West, replaced by electronically-delivered Swiss francs into the secret pockets of cabinet-level ministers.

Many of the regimes in formerly communist countries are also vulnerable. Russia is of particular concern to international institutions, after a spate of corruption-linked resignations from officials in the ministry of the economy.

World Bank eyebrows shot up when Boris Yeltsin used $5 billion from the Bank for his successful election campaign.

But the fall of the Berlin wall has allowed the anti-corruption squads to make inroads into corruption in the developing world. During the cold war, some of the world's most corrupt and violent — but anti-Moscow — regimes were awash with World Bank money.

Now that the US is no longer competing with a communist adversary for control of Africa, the Bank is taking a tougher line. In 1993 it suspended aid and loans to Zaire, on the grounds that systemic corruption in the military dictatorship of President Mobutu Sese Seko was preventing the cash getting to its intended destinations.

The Bank plans surprise spot-checks on supported projects to guard against the misuse of funds.

This is part of the new economic approach to tackling corruption, using money rather than laws as a sanction.

Ultimately, the only way to stop corruption is to make people more honest and place more stigma on dishonesty.

But Peter Connor is sceptical about a rapid reduction in corruption. "It's just human nature, isn't it?" he says.

**League of corruption**

Just how corrupt? 10 is clean, 0: all deals corrupt: Selected countries.

| Country | Score |
|---|---|
| New Zealand | 9.55 |
| Singapore | 9.26 |
| Switzerland | 8.76 |
| UK | [illegible] |
| Chile | 7.94 |
| US | 7.76 |
| Hong Kong | 7.12 |
| Malaysia | 5.28 |
| Italy | 2.99 |
| Indonesia | 1.94 |

Source: Transparency International: survey of international business people.

An Egyptian child worker picking jasmine for French perfume makers PHOTOGRAPH MARIE DORIGNY

# High hurdles to fairer trade

Firms in the West want to stop it, but will consumers pay a premium to end Third World exploitation, asks **Roger Cowe**

CHILDREN paid a pittance to pick jasmine for French perfume houses before dawn in the mud of the Nile delta have a potential new ally — the British shopper.

Consumers are now in the vanguard of the battle against trade-induced injustices as the emphasis shifts from campaigns in high places to the high street.

The latest move to enlist shoppers in this fight is the launch of the Oxfam FairTrade Company. It will transform Oxfam's approach to selling crafts and food and hopes to reduce losses the charity has built up.

Development agencies have not abandoned the idea of a new world order in which poor countries' debts are wiped out and trading relationships transformed to improve workers' pay. Indeed, they are pushing for these issues to be discussed at the Singapore meeting of the World Trade Organisation in December.

But those targets are as remote now as they were in the seventies, when Oxfam and Traidcraft began importing craft work from India and Bangladesh.

An elastic concept, fair trade is not just about price, says Pauline Tiffen of Twin Trading, a partner in the Cafédirect venture. "It is a trading chain where the producers are not the weakest link, where due respect is given to their skills and contribution. But it's not just positive discrimination — consumers should get a good deal as well."

Phil Wells, director of the Fairtrade Foundation, said: "It is trade which empowers the disadvantaged producer."

The foundation, set up in 1992, is involved in both strands of the fair-trade movement: addressing the needs of agricultural producers and industrial workers. Both rely on a willingness among Western shoppers to pay more, albeit for higher quality goods. First, products such as Cafédirect bypass existing brand owners to offer an alternative, giving producers better terms.

The foundation is also persuading Western companies to insist on higher standards in their suppliers' factories. The Sainsbury supermarket chain and the Co-op have signed up for a project to work out how to define and enforce standards.

Separately, charities are trying to apply consumer pressure to harness the power of retailers against appalling Third World conditions. Oxfam has a clothing campaign aimed at Marks & Spencer, Burton, C&A, Next and Sears.

These campaigns have been sparked in part by events, such as the 188 fire deaths at a Thai toy factory in 1993, but mainly by the endemic exploitation in countries where cheap clothes, toys and footwear are now produced.

Campaigners want to stamp out 60-hour weeks, fines for failing to meet production targets and poor protection from lethal chemicals.

In the United States, where brands such as Reebok and Levis have acted to stave off consumer pressure, the emphasis has been on child labour.

In many cases the children working in the carpet factories and clothing sweatshops of India and Bangladesh, or the training shoe workshops of southeast Asia are there illegally.

But development workers urge caution. Oxfam cites the upheaval in the Bangladesh clothing industry when US Senator Tom Harkin put forward a bill to ban the import of products made with child labour. Factory owners threw out children to ensure they could keep selling to US customers, with the result that families lost vital income and children were left living on the streets, many dragged into prostitution.

So engagement rather than boycott is preferred. The aim is to get British companies to adopt codes of conduct in their dealings with suppliers from the developing world.

Adopting a code is not enough. The toy industry has a code of practice but, as Jessica Woodroofe of the World Development Movement says, "The whole procedure assumes that the code is not going to work. Companies need to monitor factories, which they do already for product quality and safety. And there must be some form of independent audit."

It is not easy, as Body Shop's Jacqui MacDonald admitted, even in a company with an explicit commitment to different trading patterns.

The former Oxfam worker was recruited two years ago to sort out the company's Trade Not Aid campaign, which had failed to make substantial purchases. It has now been renamed Community Trade, to reflect the emphasis of sourcing products from cocoa butter to baskets and pottery in small communities.

Sourcing is one thing. Selling is another. The evidence of the green boom in the late 1980s suggests that in Britain people will not pay more, even for values they espouse.

Richard Adams runs Out Of This World, an ethical consumer co-operative, and he believes many campaigners underestimate how difficult it is for manufacturers and retailers to meet their demands, and wonders whether there is enough altruism in the tough 1990s. "A generation has grown up being told that the world is very competitive."

There is clearly a fair trade niche and the idea is entering the mainstream. Last week the British Retail Consortium agreed to sponsor a meeting with manufacturers, retailers and the Department of Trade and Industry to attack exploitation.

Chris Williams, spokesman for C&A, which last year set up its own auditing operation, said: "There's a time for everything. Now a lot of people are saying: 'Let's try to push fair trade forward'."

## FOREIGN EXCHANGES

| | Sterling rates October 14 | Sterling rates October 7 |
|---|---|---|
| Australia | 1.9944-1.9970 | 1.9768-1.9789 |
| Austria | 16.98-17.00 | 16.82-16.84 |
| Belgium | 49.73-49.78 | 49.24-49.33 |
| Canada | 2.1345-2.1368 | 2.1153-2.1170 |
| Denmark | 9.25-9.26 | 9.16-9.18 |
| France | 8.17-8.17 | 8.08-8.09 |
| Germany | 2.4140-2.4169 | 2.3920-2.3942 |
| Hong Kong | 12.20-12.21 | 12.08-12.09 |
| Ireland | 0.9809-0.9822 | 0.9757-0.9773 |
| Italy | 2,403-2,406 | 2,371-2,374 |
| Japan | 176.22-176.42 | 173.88-174.08 |
| Netherlands | 2.7083-2.7118 | 2.6837-2.6865 |
| New Zealand | 2.2580-2.2610 | 2.2576-2.2603 |
| Norway | 10.24-10.25 | 10.17-10.17 |
| Portugal | 244.11-244.33 | 241.78-242.04 |
| Spain | 203.04-203.22 | 201.13-201.30 |
| Sweden | 10.39-10.41 | 10.33-10.35 |
| Switzerland | 1.9779-1.9822 | 1.9624-1.9645 |
| USA | 1.5790-1.5800 | 1.5634-1.5641 |
| ECU | 1.2589-1.2604 | 1.2606-1.2619 |

FTSE100 Share Index up 7.2 at 4036.7. FTSE 250 Index up 2.8 at 4443.8. Gold up $0.75 at $381.00.

Save the Children Fund works to achieve lasting benefits for children within the communities in which they live by influencing policy and practice based on its experiences and study in different parts of the world. In all its work, SCF endeavours to make a reality of children's rights.

## FIELD DIRECTOR

**Maputo, Mozambique** **£23,774 pa + benefits**

Save the Children Fund has been working in Mozambique since 1984. Programme activities include support to the sectors of health, education, social welfare (family tracing and disability) water and sanitation, transport and community development. The focus has been on working closely with Mozambican counterparts in government ministries, and providing resources for project implementation. SCF continues to work at national level in Maputo, as well as in Zambezia and Inhambane provinces.

As Field Director, you will have overall responsibility for the management and strategic development of the programme and will lead a diverse team of expatriate and national personnel. You will also be responsible for ensuring that the programmes are effective in meeting the needs of children within the framework of SCF's regional and country strategy.

For this demanding role, you will need to have senior level experience of running an international overseas development programme. You will also have considerable managerial, financial and policy expertise together with strong analytical and communication skills. Ability to communicate in Portuguese (training provided) is also desirable.

For further details and an application form, please write, quoting reference FD/MOZ, to: Overseas Personnel Administrator, Africa, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 793 7610.

Closing date: 15th November 1996.

## PROGRAMME DIRECTOR

**Bulgaria/Romania** **£21,202 pa + benefits**

In Central and Eastern Europe, SCF supports the process of transition in the key areas of poverty alleviation, child care, juvenile justice, local NGO development and humanitarian assistance.

The priority in Bulgaria is to help to build the capacity of non-government organisations to improve the welfare of children and young people. Here we are specifically focusing on issues concerning children with disabilities, children leaving residential care, fostering and adoption, children's rights and children at risk.

To date in Romania much work has been done on the scope and range of reform required to improve juvenile justice policy and practice, and we support a small scale disability project associated with Romanian Save the Children.

Based in Sophia, you will manage and develop the programme ensuring it is effective in meeting children's needs within the framework of the SCF regional and global programme strategy. The first step will be to produce a country strategy for both Bulgaria and Romania.

You will have substantial relevant management experience of development programmes with particular expertise in organisational development and capacity building. As well as financial, resource and staff management experience, you will demonstrate strong analytical and conceptual skills and the ability to represent and negotiate on SCF's behalf at a senior level.

For further details and an application form please write, quoting reference BROM/PD, to: Maggie Innes, Eastern and Central Europe Division, SCF, Cambridge House, Cambridge Grove, London W6 0LE or fax 0181 741 4505.

Closing date: 22nd November 1996.

**Both posts** have accompanied status, and are offered on a 25 month contract with a salary that should be tax free. You can also expect a generous benefits package, including accommodation, flights and other living expenses.

SCF aims to be an equal opportunities employer.

**Save the Children**

■ Working for a better world for children

---

# IATEFL

International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language

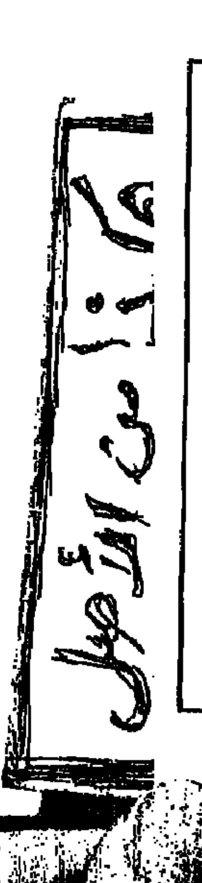
**Get in touch, share your ideas! Join IATEL and:**

* Take advantage of the large world-wide network of IATEFL Branches and Associates
* meet EFL teachers from all over the world at our annual April conference and other meetings and workshops
* pursue your goals in one or more of the fourteen Special Interest Groups
* keep in touch by reading and contributing to the bi-monthly Newsletter and Special Interest Group Newsletters
* purchase reduced-rate professional journals

Contact us now at:

IATEFL

3 Kingsdown Chambers, Kingsdown Park, Whitstable, Kent CT5 2DJ, UK
Telephone +44 (0) 1227 276528 Facsimile : +44 (0) 1227 274415
email 100070.1327@Compuserve.com



---

## Technical Team Leader

**Based in Ngara, Tanzania**

**Salary: either; National salary of Tanzanian shillings 5,995,080 p.a. (=£6,613pa) + relocation allowance based on 40% of notional home-base salary for those crossing national boundaries (eg home base EC =£7,236pa) OR £14,870 p.a. (non-taxable rate) plus accommodation. - 18 month contract. Accompanied**

Oxfam has worked in Tanzania for over twenty years, during the last three years Oxfam has opened emergency offices in Kasulu, Ngara and Karagwe. Oxfam's country development and relief programme is based on the philosophy of social organisation, community control and sustainability.

The postholder will co-ordinate and manage all technical activities necessary to establish and maintain a safe water supply to defined villages and all refugee camps of the Ngara district.

The successful candidate will have the following skills and experience:

- A minimum educational qualification to first degree standard in Engineering/Public Health.
- A minimum of two years experience of emergency work.
- Relevant managerial and teamwork experience and good interpersonal skills with the ability to manage in a multi-cultural context.
- Proven ability of strategic and work planning to a high standard.
- Knowledge and experience of preparing and managing budgets.
- Good oral and written communication skills in English are essential.

Please quote ref: OS/TTL/TAN/AD/OVB/GW.

Closing date: 15 November 1996.

Interview date: to be confirmed.

## Micro-Economist Advisor

**Based in Nicaragua - Contract: Two year (renewable), acompanied**

**Salary: US$30,280 + a relocation allowance for those crossing national border (if from UK c£8,110)**

Oxfam has been moving towards greater regionalisation and decentralisation. As part of this move there is a need to develop centres of learning on thematic issues and to increase the sharing of learning across regions. In line with this, a pilot post has been created, placing an Oxfam policy adviser with a global remit in the Central American Region. The advisor will coordinate learning and advice on economic issues for the entire organisation from the Managua Office in Nicaragua as well as providing support to programmes in the Central America region. The adviser will concentrate on economic alternatives for primary producers, with subsidiary thematic work on social sector policy and the economics of conflict.

The job will entail the provision of critical analysis and support to managers on programme content and direction in relation to micro-economic issues, as well as facilitating institutional learning on economics between regions. In addition the advisor will influence external debates, policies and practice and contribute to positioning Oxfam as an innovative agency.

The successful postholder will hold a degree in economics and a clear grasp of economic, social and gender analysis; be fluent in Spanish and English, have proven research and analytical skills, relevant grassroots development and research experience, and the ability to travel approximately 15 weeks a year.

Please quote ref: OS/MEA/PD/PY/GW.

Closing date: 7 November 1996.

Interview date: Early December 1996.

**For further details and an application form please send a large SAE to: International Human Resources, Marketing Division, Oxfam 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7DZ, quoting appropriate reference.**

Founded in 1942, Oxfam works with people regardless of race or religion in their struggle against poverty. Oxfam UK and Ireland is a member of Oxfam International.

OXFAM Working for a Fairer World

Oxfam UK/Ireland is striving to be an equal opportunity employer

---

AGRISYSTEMS

## REFUGEE RESETTLEMENT AND REHABILITATION SPECIALISTS

The Agrisystems Group provides international consultancy and project management services and has a highly successful track record in management and rural development consultancy worldwide. Our clients include multilateral and bilateral agencies (The World Bank, United Nations Group, The European Commission and Overseas Development Administration).

The company has immediate opportunites worldwide for individuals with proven expertise in emergency and post conflict situations in the following fields of refugee resettlement and rehabilitation:

* Combatant demobilisation
* Community consolidation
* Disaster relief
* Emergency situations
* Food policy
* Food security
* Health care (primary)
* Health (planning/programming)
* Logistics
* Post conflict situations
* Project management
* Refugee settlement
* Rural infrastructure
* Sanitation
* Social infrastructure
* Water supply (rural)

**Suitable applicants should send full CV's as soon as possible to Agrisystems (Overseas) Limited, Agrisystems House, Oxford Road, Stone, Bucks, HP17 8PL, UK. It is important to quote reference 5/96 and list your key disciplines in your letter.**

Fax: +44 1296 747075

Email: 100413.1520@compuserve.com

---

**JOURNALIST or WRITER?**

Home study courses in Creative Writing, Freelance & News Journalism, English Literature & Poetry

*Start today - send for free prospectus*

THE LONDON SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

JGW, 22 Upbrook Mews, London W2 3HG

Fax +44 171 706 3780 Email: info@lsjournalism.com

---

**FAIRFAX UNIVERSITY (USA)**

- Int. Home Study degree programs
- Credits for prior learning/experience
- BA, MBA, PhD etc programs in most subjects
- Entry any time

**Prospectus from UK representative office: EES Offices (GUW), P.O. Box 400 Peterborough PE2 6GD U.K. Tele/Fax: +44 (0) 1733 238923**



# N/E/R/A®

**Economic Consultancy**
**London**

National Economic Research Associates (NERA) is a leading international firm of economic consultants specialising in the application of micro-economics to regulatory and competition issues, policy evaluation and business strategy.

1. **We are inviting applications from economists for entry-level posts as research officers or analysts. Applications for more senior positions are also welcome.**

Applicants should have excellent all-round ability in economics, as reflected in their academic achievement. Quantitative and modelling skills are also important.

NERA's projects are varied and there will be opportunities to work in many sectors, including telecommunications, media, energy, transport, water, health and finance.

2. **NERA's competition policy practice is seeking an experienced economist** to work on European and international projects. Candidates for this post must have an excellent academic background and at least five years' experience working in competition policy.

3. **Applications are also invited from suitably qualified candidates for entry level and senior consultant level position in the energy practice of our Madrid office.**

The posts will be based in London or Madrid, but there are also opportunities for working on assignments throughout the world.

Please write to Yelena Russell, NERA, 15 Stratford Place, London W1N 9AF, including details of your qualifications and experience.

---

## Outreach and Network Development Co-ordinator

iied

**Salary £21,713**

**The International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED)** is an independent, non-profit institute that seeks to promote sustainable patterns of development through research, policy studies, consensus-building, and public information

The institute is seeking an enthusiastic and committed individual with a minimum of three years practical field experience using participatory methodologies in developing countries to support the development of a global network of national and regional Resource Centres. The Resource Centres will enable practitioners to increase their knowledge and skills and share information on Participatory Learning and Action; Country Sustainable Development Strategies and Environmental Profiles, and Impact Assessment Guidelines

Based in IIED's Resource Centre in London and working with the Information Manager/Librarian: you will also have an MA/MSc or equivalent in development studies, or a related discipline; a record of published material; computer literacy; fluency in English; Spanish or French as a second language; excellent communication skills; experience with institutional capacity strengthening; and a willingness to travel. This post is offered initially on a two-year fixed-term contract. Closing date: 15 November 1996.

For further information and application form please write to Personnel Officer, IIED, 3 Endsleigh Street, London WC1H 0DD, or fax: 0171 388 2826 or e-mail: IIEDPers@AOL.COM (No CVs)

---

# English Grammar in Steps

*by David Bolton and Noel Goodey*

*... is the new reference and practice grammar for intermediate students. What makes it special?*

**Steps**

➤ Clear explanations are broken down into manageable steps

➤ Check Questions after each Step confirm understanding and provide positive feedback

**Contexts**

➤ Every structure is presented within a context to aid understanding

➤ Every practice exercise has its own mini-context to provide variety and to help understanding of usage.

Yes, please send me a sample section of English Grammar in Steps.

Name: ..............................

Address: ..............................

..............................

Return this coupon to: Richmond Publishing, 19 Berghem Mews, Blythe Road, Hammersmith, London W14 0HN.




---

**SOUTH AFRICA**

**The University is a fast developing institution making a decisive break with its apartheid related past to take its rightful place among South African Universities, and determined to play an important part in the Reconstruction and Development Programme. Our student registration currently runs at nearly 7000 and with a staff complement of about 1500 comprising both academic and support staff.**

**Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons regardless of race, sex, colour or national origin for appointment to the following post:**

## VICE-PRINCIPAL (ACADEMIC)

### Administration

**Minimum Qualification:** Ph.D.

**Requirements:** The successful candidate will be the officer in charge of the university's academic programmes and general affairs. Therefore, he or she must be an academic of high standing with a proven record of excellence in teaching, research and publication. The successful candidate must have administrative experience and the ability for effective exercise of authority. Innovation, creative initiative and, change management skills will be required. Academic qualification in the natural sciences will be a definite advantage.

Salary is negotiable and will be comparable to that of similar posts in the country. The successful applicant will be offered a five year contract renewable at Council's pleasure.

**Closing date:** 22 November 1996

**Assumption of duty:** As soon as possible.

Additional benefits include payment of removal of furniture and personal effects, assistance towards University Education of children, accident insurance cover, study leave, leave gratuity on retirement and membership of Group Insurance, pension and medical aid schemes.

**Applications with a detailed curriculum vitae should be sent to the PERSONNEL OFFICER, UNIVERSITY OF TRANSKEI, PRIVATE BAG X1, UNITRA, UMTATA, TRANSKEI, SOUTH AFRICA. TEL. +27-471-302-2202. Fax: +27-471-26820. Applicants must furnish their telephone numbers and are required to arrange for at least three referee reports to be sent direct to the University by such referees.**

**University of Transkei**

*Progress through Learning*

---

## Women's Health Training Opportunity

For public health professionals in developing countries.

### Short Course in Women's Health

7-31 January, 1997 Key Centre for Women's Health, Australia (WHO Collaborating Centre)

- Research methods
- Focus on developing countries
- Program/policy development
- Field visits and attachments
- Focus on reproductive health, HIV, mental health

Closing date for applications is 6 December, 1996.

Tel: +61 3 9344 4333, Fax: +61 3 9347 4127,

email: m.morrow@kwch.unimelb.edu.au






---

**Physical Therapy Program Manager (Bosnia):**

The International Rescue Committee is the leading private voluntary refugee organization. The IRC Rehabilitation Program assists the local delivery of health care services by supporting physical rehabilitation facilities, practitioners and educators. Responsibilities include assessing educational needs; providing training through lecture, discussion and treatment demonstration in rehabilitation management; coordinating with local and international NGOs and local health care facilities; preparing narrative reports to donors and tracking budgets of expenditures. Requirements: current Physical Therapy license; experience in clinical training and teaching and/or mental health, neurological rehabilitation; treatment of contracture, peripheral nerve injuries and/or amputees; fabrication of splints, therapeutic recreation. Position is for 1 year.

**Send resume and 3 references to: M.Thormann, IRC, 122 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10168-1289. Fax:001-212-551-3180**

---




(formerly Tibet Support Group UK)

-a non-profit membership organisation campaigning for the rights of Tibetan people to independence and freedom

**Director** (full-time)

To run a popular and growing membership organisation, taking overall responsibility for coordinating campaigning action, managing the budgets and resources, paid and voluntary staff, and raising and managing funds

Applicants must: have managerial ability; be numerate and computer literate, have fluent English, be efficient, hard working and sympathetic to our aims

Deadline for completed applications - 30 October 1996.

Write to: Recruitment, Free Tibet Campaign, 9 Islington Green, London N1 2XH UK
Tel +44 171 359 7573 Fax +44 171 354 1026 email.tibetsupport@gn.apc.org

*Free Tibet Campaign strives to be an equal opportunity employer.*

---

## Lectureship/Senior Lectureship in the Study of Korea

Faculty of Arts

**Vacancy UAC.789**

The University of Auckland, New Zealand's largest and most internationalised University, has the country's largest concentration of specialists who teach and do research on the nations and cultures of Asia. It established an Asian Languages and Literatures Department thirty years ago to teach Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian. Korean language and literature was added in 1989. Twenty percent of the University's 26,000 students have roots in East Asia. The Korean community in Auckland numbers more than fifteen thousand in a city of one million.

To further the University's commitment to the study of Asia, the NZ Asia Institute was founded in 1994 to facilitate links with the region and with New Zealand communities, Asian and non-Asian. The Institute includes four country-related centres, one of which is the Korea Studies Centre. The Korea Foundation has recently provided a major grant to the Centre for the expansion of the study of Korea beyond language and literature. This new position is part of that grant.

The University seeks a Lecturer or Senior Lecturer (depending on qualifications and experience) in any appropriate discipline in the humanities or social sciences (including but not restricted to history, political studies, anthropology, sociology and geography) with a primary research focus on Korea. An appointment is anticipated in two possible modes: either entirely in a department other than Asian Languages and Literatures, or in a combination of an appropriate department and Asian Languages and Literatures. A PhD or its equivalent is required, with a concentration on Korea. Native or near-native ability in the Korean language is required, as is full competence in English. An indication of current and past research interests, including a sample of research work, will be helpful. Evidence of effectiveness as a teacher should also be included with the application.

Commencing salary per annum will be NZ$44,250 - NZ$53,250 (Lecturer) or NZ$56,500 - NZ$65,250 (Senior Lecturer).

Further information and Conditions of Appointment should be obtained from Appointments (45330), Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0PF (tel. 0171 387 8572 ext. 206; fax 0171 813 3055; email: appts@acu.ac.uk); or from the Academic Appointments Office, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zealand (tel. (64 9) 373 7599 Extn. 5789; fax (64 9) 373 7023; Email: m.simpson@auckland.ac.nz). Three copies of applications should be forwarded to reach the Registrar by 2 December 1996.

Please quote Vacancy Number UAC.789 in all correspondence.

W B NICOLL, REGISTRAR




**New Zealand**

*The University has an equal opportunities policy and welcomes applications from all qualified persons*

---

**VETAID**

Healthy Animals - Healthy People

## Animal Health Advisor/Team Leader

**Gaza & Inhambane Provinces, Mozambique**

Tropical veterinarian with at least 5 years of relevant technical and management experience to act as team leader & develop the animal health components of the project including quarantining of imported cattle, disease surveillance using participative techniques, & rehabilitation of relevant infrastructure. The contract is for 30 months with salary in the region of £18 -21k, taxed locally, plus pension, contribution to housing and health & accident insurance benefits. Applicants should hold an appropriate MSc, preferably speak Portuguese and be available to start November 1996.

Respond with CV to: VETAID, Centre for Tropical Veterinary Medicine, Easter Bush, Roslin, Midlothian EH25 9RG. Tel/Fax 0131 445 3129 or e-mail vetaiduk@gn.apc.org.

# Comic route to Smiley's People

**OBITUARY**
Beryl Reid



Beryl Reid in 1966 PHOTOGRAPH: JANE BOWN

*BERYL REID*, who has died aged 76, was a much loved character actor who fairly late in life brought the techniques and attack of a stand-up comic to a wide variety of straight plays. These ranged from Joe Orton's Entertaining Mr Sloane to Romeo And Juliet, in which she played the nurse in the 1974 National Theatre production. Her career spanned music hall and the Royal Shakespeare Company, and took her into films and television.

The play that made her name as an actress willing to take on controversial parts was The Killing Of Sister George, about lesbian power-play among the women of a soap opera. She had already reached a wide public in the 1950s on BBC radio's Educating Archie comedy series as Monica, the dreadful mealy-mouthed schoolgirl ("She's my best friend, and I hate her!") and Marlene, the streetwise Brummie proto-teenager.

Born in Hereford, she first announced she was going on the stage at the age of four, a year after she started to learn dancing. In Manchester she went to the "progressive" Lady Barne House School, Withington, but got herself into so many scrapes that she was moved to the strict Levenshulme Girls' School. Her father, an estate agent, got her a "secure" job at Kendal Milne's, Manchester's answer to Harrods, where she broke things in the china department but excelled at demonstrations.

She won a concert party audition playing a character she had created called Ethel, a hotel maid collecting guests' shoes from outside their rooms and giving impressions of their owners. This gave her a season at Bridlington at £2 a week in 1936.

When war broke out she auditioned for the forces entertainment organisation ENSA, and went on tours with the Dagenham Girl Pipers. Her first big success was in Howard and Wyndhams' Half Past Eight Show, for which she wrote 472 sketches in one season.

Her reputation grew with her constant exposure on the BBC's Variety Bandbox and Workers' Playtime radio shows, through which she met her first husband, the producer Bill Worsley. She introduced the then unnamed Monica character at the Playhouse Theatre at Charing Cross, where the band-leader Henry Hall saw her and took her on to Henry Hall's Guest Night.

She toured with the comedian Max Wall for a year and with the man who became her second husband — also to be divorced — Derek Franklin, a musician in the Hedley Ward Trio.

At the tiny Watergate Theatre in the Strand, she realised that she could create characters by studying their feet, their shoes and their walk. Despite solo variety success, including a record year's run at the Palladium, she wanted to work with other people. So it was in 1965 that she accepted the star part in The Killing Of Sister George from impresario Michael Codron. Its lesbian motif was thought so depraved on its preliminary provincial tour that at Hull the shopkeepers refused to serve the cast.

Once in London, however, both the play and Reid's second career as an actress took off. She transferred the role to New York and won a Tony award, made the Robert Aldrich-directed film of the play with Susannah York and Coral Browne, and played in the stage and film version of Joe Orton's Entertaining Mr Sloane. Her other films include The Belles Of St Trinians, Star, and No Sex Please, We're British.

On television she was memorable in the BBC adaptation of John Le Carré's Smiley's People. In it she played Connie Sachs, onetime secret service head of research, and one of George Smiley's ex-lovers, whose memories he coolly taps in the course of his search for a Russian mole. She was also the grandmother in Sue Townsend's The Secret Diary of Adrian Mole Aged 13¾.

Beryl Reid, who was given the OBE in 1986, had no children by either of her marriages. Her autobiography, So Much Love, was published in 1984.

**Dennis Barker**

Beryl Reid, actress, born June 17, 1920; died October 13, 1996

# Last of the musketeers

**OBITUARY**
René Lacoste

*RENE LACOSTE*, who has died aged 92, was the youngest and last survivor of the Four Musketeers who dominated 1920s tennis. Lacoste, Le Crocodile, was regarded by his Davis Cup colleagues, Jacques "Toto" Brugnon, Jean Borotra and Henri Cochet as their patron.

Between 1927 and 1933 the four Frenchmen captured the Davis Cup from the Americans, and plundered the Grand Slam championships. Between 1924 and 1929 they divided between them nine French, six Wimbledon and three US titles.

Never physically robust, Lacoste spent hours on the practice court to become a master of the baseline game. Legend has it that he wore a hole in the practice wall at home. His patient, errorless game was highly effective on his native clay courts and brought him singles wins in Paris in 1925, 1927, and 1929 and in doubles with Borotra in 1925 and 1929.

Yet, such was the accuracy of his passing shots, so astute his use of the lob, so deep his knowledge of opponents' weaknesses — the little black notebook was legendary — that he also succeeded twice each on the grass courts of Wimbledon (1925, 1928) and Forest Hills (1926, 1927). His second US win against Bill Tilden, was a gruelling two-and-a-half hour 11-9, 6-3, 11-9 victory in which his opponent repeatedly changed his tactics and was repeatedly outmanoeuvred. The New York Times' Allison Danzig rated it the best tennis match he was ever likely to see.

Born in Paris, the son of Hispano-Suiza's general manager, Lacoste was a shy young man, who first picked up a racquet aged 15 on holiday in England and was immediately absorbed by the challenges of the game. His father hoped he would be interested in manufacturing motor cars and at least attend the polytechnique. But he allowed him to defer his further education "provided that within that period you become the number one player in the world". So began months of endeavour under the eye of his coach, Darsonval. Observation, recorded in his notebook, was the means to defeat his international rivals.

To Lacoste the most satisfying result of all was the second win against Bill Tilden in 1927 that brought France the Davis Cup for the first time. According to Bobby Abdesselam, a French Davis Cup player and Lacoste's lawyer since 1949, it was on the unsuccessful 1926 Davis Cup campaign that the crocodile legend was born. Lacoste noticed in the window of a Boston leather goods shop a magnificent, shining, black crocodile leather suitcase. Turning to the French captain, Pierre Gillou, Lacoste said: "I think you might buy me that lovely crocodile case, captain." "Only when you have beaten Tilden," replied Gillou.

From that day Lacoste would wear on the breast pocket of his white team blazer a large crocodile — and he plotted Tilden's downfall. The next year in Philadelphia, when the cup had been won, Lacoste got his suitcase.

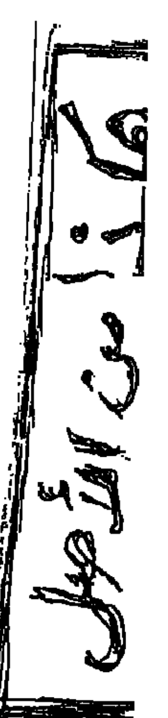
The world would experience a revolution in sports clothing. Lacoste already had the germ of the idea. He had asked the Swiss industrial designer Robert George to produce a smaller crocodile that would become the symbol of quality on the short-sleeved cotton sport shirts that were launched under the Chemise Lacoste label in 1933. For five years before that, Lacoste had been perfecting the manufacturing techniques with Jack Izod in London. Until then everyone had played in long-sleeved white shirts with the sleeves rolled up.

Lacoste is survived by his wife Simone, their three sons, one daughter and 13 grandchildren.

**John Barrett**

René Lacoste, tennis player, born July 2, 1904; died October 13 1996









# Taliban take step back into the future

As the foot soldiers of Islam try to consolidate power in Afghanistan **Jonathan Steele** in Kabul reviews a conflict without seeming end

Dogs of war . . . Taliban soldiers head for the frontline as their opponents regroup and fight back

*FAZIL BARY* sat in the back of a Toyota Landcruiser pick-up, with a large black kettle resting on a US Army ammunition box in front of him. Three other bearded men in loose brown robes were squashed in alongside.

Now 35, Fazil spent all his young adulthood as a mojahed, "a warrior of God", resisting the Soviet occupation of his country. But when the mojahedin leaders took over the government four years ago, they "deviated from Islam". Disappointed and betrayed, Fazil said he had no choice but to go back to the struggle.

With the earflaps of his Russian soldier's hat flopping as he talked ("my turban's inside the car," he smiled), it could have been pure comedy: the glasses of tea, the tin of snuff in his hand, his name scrawled on the bonnet of the Landcruiser to remind potential rivals that he was the one who liberated it.

Yet this is no bunch of amiable ruffians. As we chat, the crump of mortar fire echoes around the mountain. We are on the front line of an astonishing advance which has seen the Taliban militias capture Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, and other key cities, moving forward some 200 miles over the past month.

Everywhere they go, the Taliban are imposing a version of Islam which has no parallel in the world. People have been forced at gunpoint to attend the mosque. Women are barred from work, men ordered to grow beards. Television is banned, and satellite dishes are shot at.

Fazil Bary calls himself a mullah. He has a wife and a five-year-old daughter. "I don't want her to go to school," he boasts. "I will give her whatever rights are bestowed by the Koran, but no more. The only knowledge which is compulsory for women as much as men is knowledge of the Koran."

When the world had more than one superpower, each side pumped billions of dollars of hardware into this dirt-poor central Asian country in pursuit of some sort of mission. With the end of the cold war has come a reversion to a medieval past, not to mention the deaths of more than a million Afghans.

A scrap-metal merchant with a crane and a few flatbed trucks could make a fortune from disabled military vehicles along the road from Kabul to the north.

If there is little to choose between the Taliban and the mojahedin who stayed loyal to the government when it comes to mastering complicated weaponry, the Taliban have the edge in morale. "Weapons help, but our strength comes from the Koran" is a refrain you hear every time you accost them for a roadside interview.

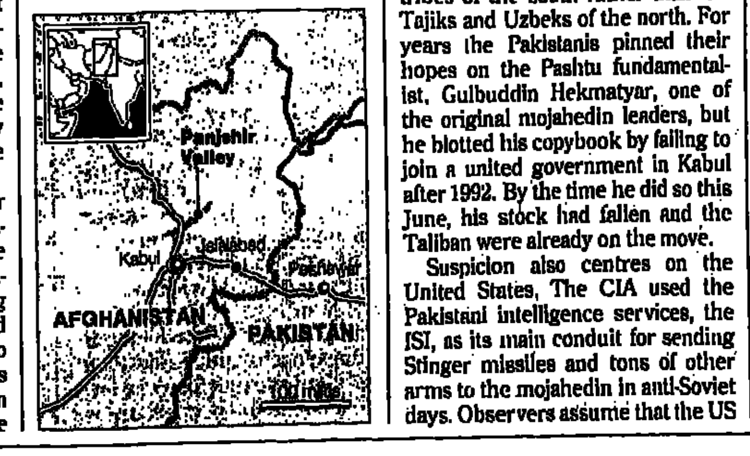
Their second source of inner power is contempt for the mojahedin leaders' "deviations". Like evangelistic bible-bashers, the Taliban are Islamic protestants stirring up the faithful against the wayward prophets of the establishment who betrayed the people's hopes. It is not just their material corruption but the way the men who led the struggle against the Russians turned on each other after victory.

Most Taliban had never been to Kabul before last month. Seeing the city will only have redoubled their determination. While war with the Russians left the country in tatters, Kabul remained unspoilt. Set on a plateau with the magnificent high-veld climate, at least from spring to autumn, of Johannesburg or Harare, the burning blue of its skies is softened by great ridges of mountains around it. Only the heavy snows of winter add a non-African dimension.

Now much of the city no longer exists. Sarajevo has become the world's yardstick for war, the best-known measure of a modern city brought to ruin. Kabul is three times worse.

Entering this wasteland of a city, the Taliban must feel their holy mission to clean away an irresponsible mojahedin leadership is fully justified. Most of them spent years in *madrassahs* (religious schools) in the refugee camps of Pakistan, being trained as mojahedin. They did not expect they would one day form a second wave of warriors, this time purifying their country from compatriots and fellow Muslims rather than foreign infidel and their communist lackeys.

The spark was lit by Mohammed Omar Akhund, a senior mullah from Kandahar, who is in his late thirties. Unlike the first wave of mojahedin political leaders, who spent most of the war against Russia in their villas in Pakistan's northwestern city of Peshawar, Omar went into battle. He lost an eye. Two years ago, he summoned the faithful to a new war, calling for volunteers from the demobbed mojahedin. He called them the Taliban, the "students" or "seekers". Most were countryboys from Pashtun villages in the south, where women have always been treated as little more than house-slaves.




But no army can flourish solely on morale, comradeship, and faith in an idea. The big question is who is helping them with training, supplies, logistics, and fuel. As they sit fearfully in their homes in Kabul, few middle-class professionals have any doubts. Behind the Taliban stands Pakistan.

*HARD EVIDENCE* is not easy to gather, but before their assault on the eastern city of Jalalabad in mid-September eyewitnesses saw the Taliban forces cross into Afghanistan from Pakistan. Three days before Kabul fell, a Taliban plane was hijacked by its own crew and flown to a government airfield. The pilot said he was defecting to show what Pakistan was doing. Seven Pakistani officers were on the plane.

Pakistan's motives, according to Afghan observers, are to have a friendly and subservient government in control of Afghanistan. It wants to install leaders in Kabul who come from the powerful Pashtu tribes of the south rather than the Tajiks and Uzbeks of the north. For years the Pakistanis pinned their hopes on the Pashtu fundamentalist, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, one of the original mojahedin leaders, but he blotted his copybook by failing to join a united government in Kabul after 1992. By the time he did so this June, his stock had fallen and the Taliban were already on the move.

Suspicion also centres on the United States. The CIA used the Pakistani intelligence services, the ISI, as its main conduit for sending Stinger missiles and tons of other arms to the mojahedin in anti-Soviet days. Observers assume that the US knew of the new Pakistani link with the Taliban, and did nothing to discourage it.

Did they go further? Were they actively advising the Taliban? Certainly, Washington developed close contacts. In May, two Taliban leaders attended a conference there run by Senator Hank Brown, who has long maintained an interest in the region. US diplomats regularly travelled to Taliban headquarters, most recently one week before the final assault on Kabul when Robin Raphel, the assistant secretary of state for Asian affairs, saw the mullahs.

Such visits can be explained by any government's need for contact with opposition groups, but the timing raises doubts as does the generally approving line which US officials take towards the Taliban. John Holtzman, the deputy chief of mission in Islamabad, who is widely assumed to be the CIA's station chief in Pakistan, tells reporters that the Taliban can play a useful role in ending Afghanistan's long civil war by providing a strong central government. Astonishingly, Holtzman was planning to fly to Kabul shortly after the Taliban took over. The head of protocol had already gone to the airport to meet him when the Clinton administration realised an image of cosying up with ultra-fundamentalists might go down badly with American women voters. The visit was postponed.

The Soviet invasion in December 1979 turned Afghanistan into a cold war cockpit and the Russians cannot escape the blame for initiating the slide to disaster. But in the judgment of history the US may be seen as equally guilty, if not more so. Moscow's interference in an unstable neighbour's affairs at least had a kind of strategic rationale. The US's launching of the biggest covert operation in the CIA's history was entirely cynical, fighting to the last Afghan in order to bleed the Soviet Union as heavily as it could. Yet when victory was achieved, the US gave almost no aid to rebuild the war-torn country.

The new US position takes cynicism a stage further. With the Soviet Union gone, today's ideological enemy is Iran. The Taliban are Sunni. Their virulent fundamentalism is directed against the Shias of Iran, who, in their attitudes to women, present a model as sinfully progressive as that which the Taliban found in Kabul.

When King Amanullah was forced to abdicate in January 1929 his sin was to do what the Taliban are doing today, except in reverse. He opened girls' schools, and forbade government officials from practising polygamy. Influenced by a grand tour in Europe, he and his wife switched to Western dress, and forced the people of Kabul to do likewise. It was too much too soon. The mullahs declared the king an infidel, and fundamentalists from the countryside descended triumphantly on Kabul to chase him away. Afghanistan's first attempt at modernisation had come to an abrupt end.

Today we are seeing what appears to be the death of the second attempt. It has been a slower and infinitely more bloody affair. Take away the anti-communist rhetoric, and you find the programme of the Moscow-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan which took power in a coup in April 1978 was primarily aimed at bringing a feudal, mullah-ridden country into the modern world.

The PDPA was building on reforms started by the post-war King Zahir Shah and his cousin, Mohammad Daoud. While they moved gradually, the authoritarian radicals of the PDPA were systematic. They increased the pace, creating a secular and republican state, outlawing opposition, forcing villagers to send their daughters to school, and trying to undermine the role of the mullahs, who in Afghanistan are landlords as well as religious leaders.

*THE MOJAHEDIN* revolt was the predictable result. The Soviet intervention to prop up the regime turned rebellion into national resistance. The difference from the 1920s was that by 1979 three decades of gradual modernisation had created an urban professional community which saw the traditionalists of the countryside as their enemy.

The new rulers forced women to wear the veil over the hair and shoulders, but allowed the face to be seen. They talked of separating women and men at work, not stopping women working altogether. But the restrictions soon eased, and the fears evaporated.

It was only this summer, when the fundamentalist Hekmatyar became prime minister, that the regime tightened. He took women announcers off television and ordered cinemas to close. Music and films were banned from television.

So the Taliban's grim clampdown is not a difference of kind. It is simply the logical end-point of a trend back into the past which the PDPA radicals first provoked, and then abetted, as they backed off their own reforms in an attempt to undermine the mojahedin's support.

For watchers from abroad it is an amazing reversal of modernity. Everywhere else in the "global village" the forces of globalisation backed by the electronic media are crashing into local cultures, bringing the values of the city, or rather of the northern hemisphere metropolis, into the remotest rural areas. In Afghanistan, uniquely, the narrowness of the countryside is determined to squeeze the town.

But for the people of Kabul it is nothing less than a disaster.

# Scrambled gene cuisine for dinner

Beans will mean never knowing exactly what we're eating when genetically altered food arrives on our plates, says **Michael Durham**

*THEY* are bringing in the harvest in Missouri. On the banks of the Mississippi, a few miles outside St Louis, farmers began cutting acres of soya bean this month, as they do every year. But these soya beans are different. This is gene food — the first of its kind in the world.

By late November it will be on British dinner plates, but few people will be aware of the fact, much less able to exercise a choice. Genetically altered food — first soya beans and then corn, rape seed oil and sugar — are about to invade the British larder whether consumers like it or not.

After years of tinkering in vast laboratories and locked greenhouses, agrochemical companies are ready to unleash their discoveries on the world: genetically changed plants and vegetables, programmed by the addition or subtraction of tiny slices of DNA to grow and behave in exactly the way scientists want them to.

Suddenly there are soya bean plants tailor-made to withstand heavy doses of herbicide, so weeds around them wither while the beans live on. There are ears of corn designed to kill any pest that takes a bite, while leaving benign insects unscathed. Already there are tomatoes that never go squashy; soon there will be potatoes that don't soak up fat in a chip pan.

But will the public wish to eat such genetic simulacra, knowing they are foodstuffs that have been tinkered with by scientists, refashioned according to a relatively new technology and usually for the benefit of biochemical companies and farmers rather than the consumers who will buy and eat the results?

There are signs that the gene food "revolution" will not go unchallenged: consumers in the United States have been urged to avoid genetically modified soya and maize. In the UK, supermarkets have fought, albeit without success, to prevent their indiscriminate introduction. But neither will the revolution go away.

There is nothing unusual, on the face of it, about John Doe's soya beans: the little yellow spheres grow, three to a pod, on plants indistinguishable from normal ones; perhaps they are slightly greener and a shade taller, mainly because they have no weeds to compete with. Yet the gene food plants are the product of 11 years of research.

Scientists working for the US agrochemical company Monsanto followed a simple brief: to create a soya bean plant that would not die when sprayed with the company's own herbicide, given the trade name Roundup. The advantages are evident: farmers could plant "Roundup Ready" (RR) seeds, then spray the plants as often as they wished with a non-selective herbicide which would kill everything else. The advantages to Monsanto are even clearer: the farmers must buy Monsanto's seeds, then spray them with Monsanto's Roundup.

Monsanto says farmers will gain by achieving a higher yield, offsetting the extra costs — a claim so far untested because the first harvest is not complete. The company says farmers will use less herbicide, helping the environment. Around 10,000 farmers in the Midwest have signed up, dreaming of clean fields and higher profits, while others have adopted a "wait and see" attitude or were put off by the chemical company's draconian contract, giving it the right to inspect farms and test crops for up to three years.

But what may be a blessing to farmers has only been achieved by scary genetic tinkering. To create the new plant, Monsanto's white-coated scientists laboured over Petri dishes and spliced in a small strand of DNA from a common soil-resident microbe which they knew would endow the plant with its immunity to Roundup.

Will consumers, supermarkets or even governments go along with this worrying genetic meddling?



*Bitter harvest . . . the advent of genetically altered vegetables, such as this sugar beet, has led to protests from consumer groups worried that they are biologically unsound* PHOTOGRAPH: GAVIN SMITH

And will shoppers put up with being told they have no choice, while being given bland reassurances that there is no cause for concern?

Ronnie Cummins of the Pure Food Campaign, a US pressure group calling for a consumer boycott of American-produced genetically engineered soya and maize, said: "In the past, biotechnology has fallen flat on its face. Eighty per cent of consumers don't want it. There is a big battle ahead and we are going to win."

In Britain, groups such as the Genetics Forum (a research and lobby group), Greenpeace, the Safe Alliance and the Consumers' Association are preparing for battle as the first soya beans arrive. Julie Sheppard of the Genetics Forum said the beans "will set a dangerous precedent. We are at a turning point".

Campaigners protest that genetic tinkering is risky and biologically unsound. There are fears that resistance to herbicide could be transferred to weeds, creating strains of "superweed". Environmentalists also believe herbicide-resistant varieties could lead to more, not less herbicide use. Monsanto denies this.

The real issue for consumers is labelling. Monsanto, together with most food producers and commodity brokers, insists it will be impossible to label any food containing the new soya because "modified" beans and natural ones will be mixed throughout the food production process. Although only 2 per cent of this year's US crop is genetically modified, it could be anywhere in the food chain. Monsanto's critics say it is disingenuous and accuse it of trying to bully the public. They argue that the beans could easily be processed and sold separately, perhaps to go into separate ranges of "modified" and "gene-free" foods.

*MONSANTO* is having none of this. Its representatives endlessly repeat the mantra: "The beans are the same beans. They are indistinguishable. You cannot tell them apart. There is no reason for the beans to be labelled."

British supermarkets, which initially mounted a spirited campaign to persuade Monsanto to keep the gene beans separate, have admitted defeat and from next month will offer customers leaflets explaining gene food and emphasising the alleged environmental benefits.

Ms Sheppard said: "We are worried that consumers are never going to have any choice about whether they want to eat genetically modified food.

"I have no reason to think the soya is a dangerous product. But the way it is being handled could set a dangerous precedent: it is the first in a long line of commodity products. If we let this through without segregation, it could be very difficult in future."

In Britain, consumer groups are pinning their hopes on persuading leading supermarkets and food manufacturers that it is against their interests to let in bio-engineered food — as long as there is enough of a public outcry. "We are prepared to accept that gene technology could bring real benefits. But we object to applications which don't bring any benefit to consumers," said Ms Sheppard.

At the Continental grain elevator in St Louis, barges were being loaded with soya bean and maize for the long trip down the Mississipi and export to Europe. Some of the soya beans were genetically modified, but no one was saying which. There seemed no doubt that it would be possible to segregate the beans: the huge plant already separates identical looking varieties of maize. "Yep, we could do it if we were asked," said the plant superintendant, Andy.

Across the Atlantic, however, it looks as if consumers will never be allowed to know the difference. — *The Observer*

# Italians believe in showing nuff respect

**John Hooper in Rome**

*IT'S NOT* that I'm complaining. The people I talk to, back at the Guardian, include many good friends. It's just that they don't show a lot of, well, respect. And that is something which, living in Italy, you rather come to expect.

The first thing I do in the morning is switch on the radio. In Britain, the newscasters just come crashing into your home. Here, they edge themselves through the tradesman's entrance and into the kitchen, bidding good morning to their *gentili ascoltatori* (courteous listeners).

If I drop in at the café by the newsagents after buying the papers, I am sure to be greeted with a deferential *Buongiorno, signore*. But then signore, or sir, is the very least one can expect.

When I get to work, there are usually letters and faxes waiting. The faxes will all have been sent for my *cortese attenzione*. On the envelopes of some the letters, I will be be addressed as *illustrisimo* or "most revered", and the letters inside will begin *Egregio signore* (not "Dear" but "Distinguished sir").

If I need some cuttings, I go to the library of the newspaper where I am based. In spite of the fact that we have a friendly — even jokey — relationship, the librarian would not dream of calling me anything but *Dottore*. The cashier in the self-service restaurant up the road went one better the other day. After taking my money, she gave me my change saying: "There you are, *professore*."

Signore, Dottore and Professore are all rungs on an invisible ladder that, for a very select few, leads all the way up to *Commendatore*. Commendatore is actually a title awarded by the Italian state, but to get called it in public you pretty much have to be Fiat president Gianni Agnelli.

Somewhere between Dottore and Professore, a lot of professional people get stuck with their occupational titles: *Avvocato* (Lawyer), but also *Architetto*, *Ingegnere*, and others. Nor are these just for letters and name-plates.

I was in a restaurant when when a man in a suit walked in and was greeted with "Your usual table, Accountant?" It is all part of that least expected aspect of Italian life — what Italians themselves call *formalismo*. Holidaymakers come here and see a nation of engaging people who smile and laugh a lot, and form the idea that Italians are an easy-come, easy-go bunch.

The reality is a country in which a 19th century mandarin would have felt perfectly at home. And it has evolved a language that allows for microscopic calibrations of sentiment.

In part, formalismo is a product of Italians' generalised mistrust of all but those related by blood or marriage — a phenomenon that has been blamed for everything from the power of the Mafia to tax evasion.

In part, I suspect, formalismo is also a consequence of the fact that Italy has never undergone a social revolution of the kind that transformed British attitudes in the sixties. And that, in turn, may be a result of its never having experienced a leftwing government.

This is a country in which the working classes still "know their place", and the purpose of a lot of the formalismo is to assure the middle and upper classes of that fact. Foreigners present a unique problem because it is so difficult to work out where they fit in. I happen to wear a beard of the sort which, in Italy, is much favoured by officers in the army and the Carabinieri.

A few months after my arrival in Rome, I was settling up in a café round the corner when the cashier remarked that he hadn't seen me for a bit.

"No," I said. "I was in Palermo for a while. Then in Naples."

"Not at the organised crime conference?" he asked.

"That's right," I said innocently.

I returned to the bar to pick up my papers, and as I walked past his desk to the door, he gave me a deferential nod, a knowing smile, and touched his forehead with the tips of his fingers in a brief salute.

*"ArrivederLa, Commandante,"* he said.



A match of two halves . . . How the painting looked after the Guardian reattached the right half, now in Cuba MONTAGE: ROGER TOOTH

# Trust hopes to repair Canaletto's great divide

The National Trust wants to reunite a landscape, half of which is in Cuba. **Dan Glaister** on the full picture

*FOR* the National Trust it is disheartening news. For the government of Cuba it is a matter of national pride. The two institutions, not previously thought to have much in common, each own half of a painting by the 18th century Italian artist Antonio Canaletto.

Last year the Trust approached the Cuban ministry of culture to buy the half on show in the Museo Nacional in Havana, but received no reply.

"We've been approached several times over the years," said Manuel Crespo, head of European art at the museum, "but we've always said no."

However, he then appeared to contradict himself when he spoke to the Guardian last week, saying: "As national property it ultimately belongs to the ministry of culture, and if the Trust were to persist, perhaps they would consider selling the painting."

The Trust's art adviser, Alistair Laing, who wrote to the Cuban ministry, said: "It would be splendid to arrange a purchase or swap, but it is almost a pipedream because so many things have to be right — the condition of the painting, whether the Cubans would sell, and what it might be worth."

The painting, Chelsea From The Thames, has an estimated value of $3 million. It was painted between 1746 and 1748, one of several Canaletto painted during his 10-year stay in London.

He advertised the painting but was unable to sell it, despite being fairly well known. Shortly before his death in 1768 at the age of 71, he decided to cut it in half.

The left-hand half was sold to the 11th Marquis of Lothian, whose family owned the 17th century Blickling Hall in Norfolk, where it has remained ever since. The hall and its contents were handed over to the National Trust in 1940. As late as 1955, the painting was thought to be not by Canaletto, but by Samuel Scott.

The right-hand half of Chelsea From The Thames was sold at Christie's in 1802 to French collector Paul D'Aigremont. It then disappeared before ending up in the gallery of a Cuban collector, Oscar Cinctas. He later donated it to his country's national art museum.

Mr Crespo confirmed that the Cuban half was in good condition. The two halves are of the same width but of slightly different heights, as the Trust's half was cut at some point, probably to be framed. Nevertheless, the two sides match and could be rejoined relatively easily.

# A Country Diary

**Richard Cornish**

*VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA:* The spring rains in the desert scrub of the Mallee have been unusually heavy this year. These have been dispersed with days of clear skies. The thin, sandy soil has warmed and the annuals have burst into flower in an unprecedented show of colour in this normally dry, unforgiving country. In summer the ground temperatures soar and birds circle high above the parched earth to avoid the searing heat. The oil from the mallee, a short and multi trunked eucalypt, evaporates and it only takes a single spark to ignite the landscape into an inferno.

Wattle branches are laden with bright yellow pom-pom flowers. Fat and scaly, shingle back lizards have awoken from winter slumber to be greeted by a feast of beetles and flying insects feeding on the flowers.

A disused water tank is surrounded by a carpet of tiny, yellow paper daisies. Made of rare native Murray cypress pine, two concentric circles of upright posts, pounded into the hard earth then packed with horse-trodden soil and stone, stand like an outback Stonehenge under a cloudless sky.

Soon summer will strike the Mallee with a vengeance. The air will be hot and the water scarce. By then the flowers will have withered and the seeds fallen to the earth. But some will survive and hopefully, next spring, the rains will come again and the Mallee will burst into colour once more.

**Letter from Lilongwe** Richard Allen

# King of ills crippling Africa

*LILONGWE* is not one of the most crime-infested places in the world. Indeed, for an African capital it has a very low crime rate. This is surprising considering that the police are rarely seen on the streets, usually because there is no fuel for their dilapidated Landrovers. Malawians will tell you, however, that crime is on the increase. They remember the days when you could, in the old cliché, leave a wallet on a bus and expect it to be returned to you the next day, intact.

Those were the days when crime was deterred by the brutal and repressive regime of His Excellency Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda. It was not uncommon for people to be summarily imprisoned and tortured for alleged criminal as well as political offences. People were also thrown to the crocodiles. The size of these giant reptiles in the Lower Shire river is an indication of how well fed they have been.

Nowadays, break-ins are becoming more frequent, and an increasing number of armed robberies is reported in the press. A memorable recent account concerned an armed robbery that went tragically wrong. The inept robbers became scared when their victim, a shopkeeper, screamed. The robbers ran away, but became the victims of mob justice. There was nothing left of them to be arrested when the police finally arrived.

Crimes, however, are committed and, because the police are so ineffectual, those who can afford it have guards at night to protect themselves and their property. I have two guards outside my house every night, David and Brighton. These two young men, barely out of school, spend six nights a week sitting in my garden entertaining my dog and trying to avoid being found asleep on my occasional late night wanderings.

It is not an easy job, though combating boredom and fatigue are far greater problems than the physical risks. Only once in the last year have guards seen any action at my house. That time a gang of thieves stole into my compound and tried to make off with the cushions from the garden furniture. A brave guard stopped them, at the cost of several bruised ribs. It wasn't easy to explain that his life was worth far more than a couple of moth-eaten cushions.

On one of my midnight wanderings, David asked me for help. His father was very sick, he said, and the government hospital doctors had said that they did not know what was wrong. He wanted a day off so that he could take his father to one of the mission hospitals, where he would get better treatment.

A few days later, when I asked about his father's health, David looked downcast. He told me it was "that disease — you know — the thing everyone is talking about".

Much more than crime, Aids is the scourge of urban Malawi. Though people talk more about crime, they are far more likely to be affected by Aids. Most estimates suggest that between a quarter and a third of urban people are HIV positive. In one rural area in the south, half of all pregnant women tested positive. Aids is crippling Malawi. Daily work is constantly affected by death. In the small organisation in which I work, no single week goes by without at least two or three staff having to go to family funerals. Few people will admit that their relatives have died of Aids, though it is all too obvious when you see the weight loss, the hunched shoulders and the bloodshot eyes. Soon they will die. You know that. They will die of TB, or malaria, or diarrhoea.

David's father has gone back to his village to be treated by the traditional healer. Every one of these African doctors claims to have a cure for Aids. People know that it is their only hope. Western medicine has failed them. Traditional healers and coffin makers are the only Malawians profiting from Aids.

For a few days David's father was getting better. David was optimistic, though deep in his eyes his faith was wavering. David is one of a rare breed of security guards who speaks good English and can read and write. He spends his nights reading trashy novels — the only ones available in the local market. His education means that deep down, he knows there is still no cure for Aids, despite the claims of the traditional healers.

Last night David told me that his father was getting weaker. The money he had borrowed to pay the healer has been wasted. His father is not going to get better.

## Notes & Queries

Joseph Harker

**WHY does tea leave brown stains on the cup, whereas coffee does not?**

*THIS* results from one simple compound, tannin, which is present in tea and not in coffee. It's a brown dye. The brown stains are related not just to the presence of tannin but also to the water quality in your area: purer, softer waters make fewer stains than harder, lime-infested supplies like London's. — *Steve Cussidy, Stuttgart*

*MY MUG* always becomes stained — I drink my tea black with no sugar. However, my companion, who has his black with two lumps of sugar, never has a stain in his mug. I presume it has something to do with the sugar reacting to the oils that are released from the tea into the hot water. — *Louise Schooneman, Heerhugowaard, Netherlands*

**MOST canned foods instruct me not to store part-contents in the can. Why?**

*CANS* used for preserving food are made of tin-coated steel sheet, which is lacquered on the inside of the can. The food is only in contact with the lacquer. The can is opened with a sharp instrument, which exposes the tin metal (and possibly, the steel) to the food. Tin catalyses the splitting of proteins by enzymes, and the food quickly denatures. If a metal spoon is used to scoop out food stored in a can, the lacquer coat is broken and, with exposure to air, food degradation by tin catalysis occurs. One should always use a plastic or wooden scoop to remove food from an opened can. — *Nigel Chaffey, London.*

**WHAT was the original cock-and-bull story?**

*GYAN MATHUR'S* explanation is an excellent example of a cock-and-bull story (September 29). Brewer's Phrase and Fable says: "The origin of the term is probably connected with old fables in which cocks, bulls and other animals discoursed in human language. In Bentley's Boyle Lecture (1692) occurs the passage, 'That cocks and bulls might discourse, and hinds and panthers hold conferences . . .' " — *E Webber, Queensland, Australia*

## Any answers?

**WHAT is the ultimate irony?** — *Seonaidh Matherson, Leeds*

**HAS the evolution of surnames with their origins in occupations or place names ended, or can we look forward to one day being introduced to Mr Programmer or Ms Consultant.** — *Peter Revill, Wyaston, Derbyshire*

**WHAT is the difference between fog and mist?** — *Brian Hebert, Betchingley, Surrey*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. Readers with access to the Internet can respond to Notes & Queries via http://go2.guardian.co.uk/nq/

# The good, the bad and the inconsequential

**Adrian Searle** reviews a Paris exhibition that reflects the infinite variety of life and British art




Mixed bag . . . David Medalla's Le Flâneur de l'Eurostar extols the virtues of the Chunnel train GUY BRETT

*FAR FROM* being the exciting and iconoclastic events they are touted to be, group exhibitions of younger British art have become a yawn. Even the participants are bored with them. This month yet another hot and sexy British art show opened in Paris. Life/Live rounds up works by the usual suspects — Damien Hirst, Jake and Dinos Chapman, Sam Taylor-Wood, Douglas Gordon, Gillian Wearing et al — but rather than rubber-stamping a few hot shot artists, the exhibition puts them in a wider British context.

Filling the upper galleries of the Musée d'Arte Moderne de la Ville de Paris, Life/Live is a screaming, yabbering compendium of young and old, the good, the bad, the indifferent and the inconsequential. But it does have its moments. Curated by Hans-Ulrich Obrist — the man who turned the Serpentine Gallery into a rumpus room with his hyperactive show Take Me I'm Yours a couple of years ago — it attempts an overview, including art magazines and posters, installations and films, guest appearances and novelty acts, and gives equal weight to the serious and the insane. It is, you might say, like life.

The vitality of a country's art scene depends on far more than a few star names working in isolation. Going beyond the studio and the social network, Obrist has rightly focused on the activities of older artists, and on the labyrinth of artist-run collectives and shoestring operations dubbed "alternative spaces" in listings magazines.

These hole-in-the-wall galleries and setaside showing spaces are the testing grounds of British art. Obrist has given over space in the show to several of these collectives. City Racing, an artist-run space in a defunct bookmaker in Kennington, have erected the old, backlit betting shop sign at the entrance to the exhibition, as if they're taking over the entire venture. They display works by a number of favoured artists: cardboard mockup machines, carefully installed bits of old gas and water piping and some screamingly awful paintings of a semi-clad girl in fantasy settings.

Bank, an iconoclastic combo who mount shows in which artists are invited to expose their work in the midst of maniacally theatrical *mise-en-scène* show the cool monochrome paintings of Jason Martin and the beautiful, disturbing photocollages of John Stezaker, in a space strewn with rubbish and populated by weirdo mannequins, one of whom holds aloft a severed head.

The extreme is always arresting, but it is also a kind of hijack, diverting the viewer from the absence of content. These tactics, however, are not merely the province of the young. David Medalla and John Latham, influential artists in the late 1960s, both indulge the paucity of their later works here. Latham has latterly been involved in a mad project to unite art, science, life, society and everything, so his presence — however incomprehensible — is understandable, while Medalla, a man who is either a prophet or an ambulance chaser, has filled his space with performance props, bad paintings, a tacky model of his friend Guy Brett's house and a photo-sequence extolling the magical virtues of the Channel Tunnel express. Their projects might be called interdisciplinary, but it's hard to see where the discipline lies. Their presence — along with Gilbert and George and Gustav Metzger (an all-but-forgotten figure whose work in the sixties was concerned with the duality of creation and destruction) — is intended to show the roots of the current British scene. But as soon as connections get made, they get lost again.

Obrist wants to tell us how cross-connected and multi-cultural British art is, but the whole thing seems to have been concocted in such a rush as to make it a grab-bag. At least the room full of video works, displayed in the rotunda decorated with Raoul Dufy's permanent mural, arrayed on the floor on little monitors between giant comfy bean bags, has a slowed-down, chill-out atmosphere in which it is possible to take stock. It is here that we find Damien Hirst's short film describing the do's and don'ts of blowing your brains out with a hand-gun. The film, a useful *aide-mémoire* for any prospective suicide, shows that the social function of art has not been lost in the nineties.

The best work here runs the danger of being swamped, or coming over as too obtuse to be comprehensible. The exhibition is long on context but short on explanation.

But the strongest work here is one of the newest, by black filmmaker Steve McQueen. Almost nothing happens in his projected film, which exactly fills a wall of a darkened room. Called Just Above My Head, it shows the artist walking, but the camera is aimed just over his head. Most of the frame is filled with the empty sky, and the artist's head bobs along at floor level, sometimes seeming to dip and drown in the floor, which dimly reflects the image in a puddle of light. This silent, inexorable image — the head going this way and that, disappearing and reappearing — is about the visibility of the black artist, his place both at the centre and at the margin of things. It is a mesmerising, poetic statement. Instead of just drawing attention to himself, McQueen says something about identity. The film is also a symbol of hope, and a sign that values such as depth, formal beauty and astringency are both possible and necessary. It may well be that these values will mark the next move in British art.

Life/Live is at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris until January 5

# Poetry of passion

THEATRE
**Michael Billington**

**_LORCA'S_ Blood Wedding is rarely done on the British stage. You can see why: its mix of peasant realism and poetic surrealism, its Andalusian setting, its tragic weight make it hard to encompass. Tim Supple's new production at London's Young Vic seems like a brave British stab at an intractably Spanish play.**

**Two things work well in this harsh story of a bride who, on her wedding day, absconds with her former lover. One is Ted Hughes's new translation, which captures Lorca's mixture of starkness and lyricism: the word "knife" resounds insistently through the text. The groom's mother, sensing trouble at the wedding feast, memorably observes, "Now we have a whole family of smiles wrapped around daggers." The other stunning ingredient is Adrian Lee's music, scored for a mix of instruments ranging from the 'ud (fretless lute) and gaitas (bagpipes) to the didgeridoo. Lee and his musicians help conjure up the whole world of the play, even down to the pounding horses' hooves that for Lorca represent the unbridled sexual instinct.**

**The hard part, however, is conveying the sense of fate, reminiscent of both Greek drama and Synge, that overhangs the action. At first Supple is surprisingly successful. On Melly Still's bare, triangular stage there is an edgy Oedipal tension to the scenes between the Mother (Gillian Barge) and the Bridegroom (Hamish McColl) and a sense of past blood grudges waiting to be resolved. The first encounter with the Bride is also unnerving largely because Alexandra Gilbreath suggests she is a fierce, intense creature who could "cut a rope with her teeth". Ms Gilbreath looks as if she does little else.**

**Where Supple's production falls short is in sexual passion and Spanish ritual. Although Jasper Britton lends Leonardo, the ex-lover of the Bride, a glowering Byronic moodiness, you never feel the two of them are carried away by lust. The wedding guests are also, somewhat bizarrely, played by six young actors with painted faces who look as if in they are on a school outing to Spain. And the tricky ascent into the surreal is not much aided by the representation of the Moon as a woman in silky bra and harem pants and of Death by the admirable Ms Barge in pointy beggar mask and blue-green slip.**

**But even if Supple's production wanes in intensity, it is held together by Hughes's translation which faithfully captures Lorca's mix of earthiness and beauty. The simile of a groom's breath stroking his bride's shoulder "like a nightingale's feather" is balanced by the climactic image of a small knife sliding in cleanly "through surprised flesh". The stark, sensual power of the play emerges through Hughes's language.**

# The arch antics of epicurean antiques

TELEVISION
**Nancy Banks-Smith**

*TWO FAT LADIES* (BBC 2) is a magnificent bit of matchmaking and I advise you all to buy ring seats.

Jennifer Paterson and Clarissa Dickson Wright are both cooks. They punch the same weight. Age and eminence has made them superbly disdainful of appearance. Both have the sort of cut-glass accent which, hitting a charging (or overcharging) rhino between the eyes, would take the starch out of his horn. Once, at the launching of a liner, the BBC commentator said "There she is! The whole glorious bulk of her" while the camera dwelt fondly on the Queen Mother. Glorious bulk just about covers Clarissa and Jennifer.

They arrived in Mevagissey in Triumph. Jennifer on her grand old motorbike; Clarissa in the side car. Their nicely balanced weight made this a feasible proposition.

They stopped at The Shark's Fin restaurant where they were going to cook for a day. Clarissa, who was wearing a flying helmet, extracted herself with some difficult from the snugly fitting sidecar. "When I was in Singapore . . ." she began. When she was in Singapore she knew a man who had had his head bitten by a shark. He always wore a hat but for 10 Singapore dollars he would take if off and show you the circle of toothmarks. A memory of Commander Campbell came rushing in like a rip tide. Commander Campbell was a founder member of The Brains Trust whose implausible contributions always began "When I was in . . ." When Commander Campbell was in Patagonia, he knew a man whose bald head steamed when he ate marmalade.

Leaving the Triumph ("Lovely creature! Keep well!" shouted Jennifer, patting its bottom) they set off to frighten the fisherman ("Ahoy, the boats!"), who handed over their catch without demur. Jennifer chose coley ("Splendid fellow! Like a bloody great mermaid.") Clarissa said that when she was in Shetland the phosphoresence of smoked coley, hanging from the rafters, was so bright you could read by it. It is not a cookery series for the timid. No measurements metric or imperial (and you would expect imperial), no guidance, no timing, no supermarket cranberries. They collected mussels — hanging on for dear life — in Jennifer's helmet and scoffed them on the spot like the Walrus and the Carpenter.

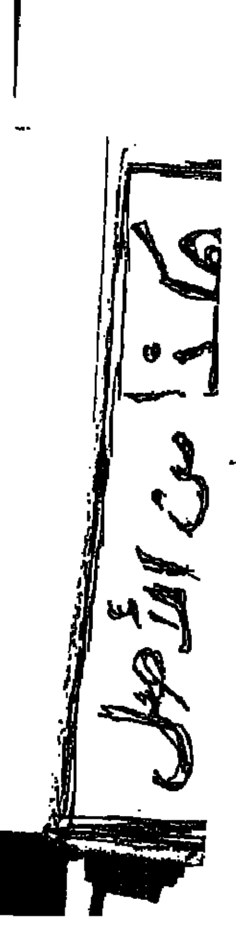
Their cooking is inspirational. I would take issue with Jennifer on spinach which, she said, comes as a nice surprise at the bottom of a fish pie. Spinach is never a nice surprise particularly for those of a nervous disposition.

Their culinary tips were of a useful, if disconcerting, nature. Jennifer said a larding needle was a wonderful weapon and Clarissa agreed it was just the job for sticking in a burglar. Don't let the name mislead you. A larding needle is not a needle. It's more in the nature of a bayonet.

Look, if I've said anything to upset the ladies I take it back.

Their activities were punctuated with disconcerting shouts ("Lace up me corsets, Trevor!") and noisy singing ("Give us a sea shanty, Jennifer!") Then up with the throbbing feet and down with the chilled vino. "Here's to your beautiful eyes!" said Jennifer. "Chin chin!" said Clarissa.

Girls, girls! It is my opinion, Clarissa, that you egg Jennifer on and we all know she needs no encouragement.





The liberal passion of John Sayles's Texas border thriller-cum-western is warmly welcomed by **Derek Malcolm**

# State of the nation



Shot in the dark . . . Kris Kristofferson as a crooked fifties sheriff in John Sayles's Lone Star

*AT A TIME* when to be overtly political is almost to be politically incorrect, John Sayles remains one of the undamped guiding lights of the American independent cinema. Most of his films — and we must excuse the Irish-set Secret Of Roan Inish — not only look deep into the American psyche but also stand four-square behind the best kind of American liberalism to which even a Democratic President dare not thoroughly subscribe.

Lone Star is no exception. Set in Rio County, Texas, near the Mexican border, it presents us with a broad spectrum of characters — as the excellent City Of Hope did — exercised by both the demons of the past and the difficulties of the present. As in almost all the best westerns, he deals with issues of morality and honour connected firmly to the political process.

If this sounds forbidding, Lone Star is, in fact, quite the reverse. Sayles tells a good story well and draws from his cast the kind of performances that stretch rather than confine them.

Two soldiers unearth a human skeleton with a sheriff's badge near it. The sheriff (Chris Cooper, who appeared for Sayles in Matewan and City Of Hope) discovers it to be the remains of a predecessor (Kris Kristofferson) who disappeared in 1957. The present mayor, and the sheriff's own father, both of whom used to be the dead man's deputies, are gradually implicated, though the fifties sheriff had a murky history of protection rackets and financial impropriety that at first labels his deputies as heroes by comparison.

Meanwhile the town is arguing about the Hispanicisation of teaching at the local school. Sayles seems not so much interested in what happened and who was responsible as in how our environment — both past and present — affects our attitudes.

The director's use of flashback is intelligently handled, so that we see the past as very much part of the present. Sayles wrote the script, too, and his characterisations forbid us putting the townspeople into various shades of black and white. This is a thriller-cum-western that maintains, as City Of Hope did, a scrupulous balance throughout.

This is why Frances McDormand, last seen playing the plucky smalltown homicide detective in Fargo, is able to give so good a cameo as the sheriff's estranged wife, and why Kris Kristofferson at last has a part worthy of him as the vanished sheriff. Matthew McConaughey, the burgeoning star of A Time To Kill, is also good as the sheriff's father.

The film has a lot of plot to get through and, in examining so many characters, sometimes falls into the trap of over-complication. It might have been shorter and crisper than its discursive 135 minutes. That, however, is an old Sayles fault, and at least it carries with it the sense that over-simplification and bald story-telling are not his game.

It certainly isn't in Lone Star, which manages an admirable sense of the community in which it is set, of the deep fissures of Texan border history and of the way that America can never quite come to terms with its past, and therefore romanticises or ignores it.

If this is a film partly about what happens when borders become blurred and white American parents find themselves a minority in what they regard as their own school, it is also a film about whether we should dig up the past or bury it. Its final words are, "Forget the Alamo". But I'm not sure that Sayles would agree. In his view, we shouldn't let the past stand in our way. But we should at least be capable of understanding it.

Udayan Prasad and Robert Buckler's **Brothers in Trouble** is a British film of great merit in which a group of illegal immigrants hole up in a derelict East End house during the early sixties and are eventually uprooted by the presence of a young white woman who comes to live with their leader but gets pregnant by another member of the group.

He is Om Puri, one of India's finest screen actors, and the rest of the cast who, excepting the excellent Angeline Ball, are ex-immigrants themselves, give impeccably judged and highly sympathetic performances — particularly that of Pavan Malhotra.

The importance of this film lies in the sensitivity and humanity with which Buckler, the writer and producer, and Prasad, the director, handle the themes of the Urdu writer Abdullah Hussein, who wrote The Return Journey upon which it is based.

The dangerous twilight world of the illegals is beautifully caught, so that the house itself almost becomes another character in the story. So much so, in fact, that when they finally have to leave, the film tends to lose its focus.

*EVEN SO*, this is much more than just a nice little film on an off-beat subject. It is one of the best made about the immigrant experience in Britain, and much of its strength lies in its refusal to strike attitudes in favour of a warmly sympathetic appraisal of the group's personal dilemmas of identity.

Even the moment when the men decide, now there is a respectable girl in the house, that they should no longer use a prostitute, is done with conviction. There is no hint of condescension anywhere, and a lot of charm to go with the drama. Not to be missed.

The Yiddish Cinema season at the Barbican in London opened at the weekend with Joseph Green's famous **Yiddle With His Fiddle** from 1936. This film stars Molly Picon, one of the Yiddish cinema's leading lights Chaplin might have played the part in other circumstances but perhaps not much better, since Picon was a star of some magnitude.

The film, made in Poland, is straightforward entertainment but still manages to express a lot about the Jewish experience when the Nazis were just around the corner. This is what makes these films intriguing now. But viewers may well be as surprised as I was by the competence of their making, if not by the legendary *joie de vivre* of the performances.

Watching this unique programme is rather like looking at raw and now almost completely lost history.

# Poverty of means but not invention

OPERA
**Andrew Clements**

*SCOTTISH* Opera must wonder every day where the wherewithal for the next show is going to come from. Their financial state is parlous indeed, but their new Idomeneo, which appears to have been mounted on a budget that would scarcely pay the daily flower-arranger's bill at Covent Garden, manages with great imagination to turn parsimony into a virtue, and comes up with an expert and finely crafted production of Mozart's greatest *opera seria*.

David McVicar's staging at the Theatre Royal, Glasgow, has no set to speak of at all. There is a wooden floor, a giant mask of Neptune intermittently lowered from the flies, and black flats to frame the stage; that, apart from a couple of curtains and some swords, is pretty much that. The protagonists wear brilliant scarlet and white robes, vaguely classical, the chorus dowdy black dresses and waistcoats and trousers, vaguely contemporary. There is not a special effect to be seen.

But poverty of means never leads to poverty of invention. With a very complete text (though without the ballets) the evening is long: three-and-a-half hours. But the production is so disciplined and so precisely focused, the bare stage so suggestively lit by Ace McCarron, that attention never wanders. The play of light upon the characters, the gestures and the painstaking groupings on stage have clarity and poignant tension that always works to delineate the workings of the drama.

It is classy stuff, and certainly the best new production in Britain so far this season. If the musical performances are all not quite up to the same standard, none is less than serviceable. Thomas Randle makes a fascinating portrait out of Idomeneo himself, even managing his fiendishly taxing set-piece aria in the second act with great confidence. Toby Spence is a fine-grained if slightly inert Idamante, Lisa Milne most touching as Ilia, and Claire Rutter striking if vocally lightweight as Elettra.

The chorus, so vital in this opera, could have done with more bodies (money again), but they are superbly choreographed.

Antoni Ros Marbá conducts sensitively if sometimes rather slowly; the integrity of the whole show, though, can cope with that.

*Martin Kettle adds:* Two years ago, Georg Solti conducted a concert performance in London of Cosi Fan Tutte — later recorded — which rightly had the critics raving. So expectations were high for Don Giovanni at London's Festival Hall.

This time, instead of the Chamber Orchestra of Europe which he conducted for Cosi, Solti had the London Philarmonic Orchestra, who make a meatier, more old-fashioned sound.

It did not take long, however, before one realised that this was not to be Solti's Don Giovanni so much as Bryn Terfel's. This was the Welsh baritone's first step up from Leporello to Giovanni and it dominated the evening. Terfel was in imposing voice, bringing a physicality and immediacy to the Don such as one rarely hears. This was not the usual insinuating charmer, but a sexually overwhelming force of nature.

But Terfel's protean performance created problems of balance for his fellow soloists. Michele Pertusi, making the opposite move from Don to Leporello, sang with unfailing style but sounded conventional compared with the Welshman.

Of the three women soloists, Ann Murray's Elvira was the only one to engage in the same emotional range as Terfel's Don. Her Mi Tradi, the aria thankfully included in this performance, provided one of the great moments of the evening.

# Melting hunks, steel sylphs

DANCE
**Judith Mackrell**

**_THE_ classical division of the sexes, in which men get cast as heroic hunks and women as dainty sylphs, is given an intriguing shove in Richard Alston's new work Okho. Danced to a pair of percussion scores by Iannis Xenakis, the piece may set up opposing styles for its male and female groups — but it has both sexes dancing avidly about power. The first section (Okho) is scored for three djembes, huge African drums whose rhythms range from a massive pounding to soft velvety tremolos.**

**Five men, in response, slam their bodies through arduous leaps then halt to let the movement slither around their limbs in a sensuous flow. Often they seem to have the power of big cats, stealthy and high on their toes and soft in their fingers as they anticipate their next move.**

**It's a contrast between light and hard that's most eloquent in the dancing of Henri Oguike. As his body coils in golden skeins of movement then freezes into combative angles, it looks as if the piece had been made for him.**

**Not surprisingly there are many black African echoes in Okho but they are an evocation, an atmosphere, rather than an imitation. They feel African, in fact, in the way that the next section feels Greek.**

**Psappha (the archaic spelling of Sappho) is scored for modern percussion and the sound here is harder and more implacable. A harsher, brighter dynamic also sharpens the movement so that when a lone woman lifts her arms towards the heavens then spreadeagles down into a deep lunge she has the concentrated authority of an ancient deity. As a group the women are drilled into a terser unison than the men, their movements honed to edges of steel.**

**At the end, however, when both sexes dance together in fighting formation their force builds to match even the fabulous crescendos of Xenakis's drums.**

**Also in the programme is a reshowing of Alston's Orpheus Singing And Dreaming — his cruel and beautiful setting of Birtwistle's score. In it Darshan Singh Bhuller gives his last performances with the company. He is a dancer of rare, dark intensity who will be much missed.**

# Genie of Russian glasnost

**Jonathan Steele**

Memoirs
by Mikhail Gorbachev
Doubleday 769pp £25

*MIKHAIL GORBACHEV* is the only Communist leader of Russia, with the exception of Nikita Khrushchev, who left office alive. But whereas Khrushchev had to write his memoirs in secret and smuggle them past the KGB to the West so that they could at least see the light of day abroad, the last Soviet president has had ample time to consult colleagues, edit transcripts and test the market.

It was not all plain sailing, and Gorbachev admits here that he destroyed some of his diaries in the days after he lost power. The father of glasnost was afraid that a vindictive Boris Yeltsin might use them against him. This destruction apart, Gorbachev was in a favourable position to do a good job of telling one of the more fascinating stories of our time, especially as he is not a man to allow bitterness to cloud his recall.

Indeed, his resilience is extraordinary, given the humiliation of his hurried departure from power, the indignities Yeltsin put him through, and the way government-controlled television virtually shut him out of coverage in this year's presidential contest. No doubt it stems from the thickness of skin which any man who rises through the communist hierarchy had to develop.

Unfortunately, it is not the best quality for an autobiography, and this volume does scant justice to the tale. The original version, which came out in Russian and German last year, was more than 400 pages longer. His English-language editors have halved the chapters on his roots and rise to power. Foreign policy is cut by almost two-thirds, with the virtual dumping of all mention of eastern Europe.

Yet, despite these omissions, the changes do not address the main problem. The book contains too little, not too much. Its evenness of tone, a bland self-justification, covers up the rows, the anger, the swearing, and the moments of fury and despair which we know from colleagues that he went through. The book is also strangely short on insight into the foreign leaders he met, perhaps a sign that he was never a good judge of people.

Some of the best bits in the book come from the early chapters. It is easy nowadays to forget how closed the old Soviet system was. Gorbachev reveals that even as the party leader of Stavropol, the Russian equivalent of being the governor of an American state, he had to get permission from Moscow to travel to another region.

Gorbachev is honest about his tastes. He comes across as a bit of a puritan and makes clear that he was not a closet liberal but merely a representative of a generation of the élite which wanted to find a more efficient, technocratic solution to declining growth rates.

The economy was the main focus of his first three years. Gorbachev describes with frustration how he urged local party leaders in the regions and factories to improve work habits. He replaced those who resisted but found the new men were as bad as the old. The trouble was that Gorbachev's approach remained essentially punitive. He did not find a way of giving incentives to people to modernise. It was only through Yeltsin's subsequent privatisation that this came about.

A tantalising question is whether Gorbachev could have gone the Chinese route by turning communist party managers into well-heeled entrepreneurs without opening up the political system. In his book, he touches the issue only briefly. One conclusion he hints at is that it was not possible since Russians tend to despise people who make money. The other is that political reform was more important than economic change. Given the crushing weight of the Stalinist system, and its much longer purchase when compared with China, Gorbachev was right to come to the view by 1988 and 1989 that a country with as highly educated a population as Russia's needed to legitimise pluralism.




The lid had to be lifted, but where Gorbachev failed was in not finding a way to marry the old values of social justice with the new meritocratic demands of the party élite, once they were free to start aspiring to the consumer values of the West.

Gorbachev himself was drawn more to the latter than the former. He talks of egalitarianism with contempt, in almost Thatcherite style. With his successors this collapse of values has become worse, and Russia is given over to a get-rich quick mentality at the top while most of the rest of the population struggles to survive.

It is unfair to blame Gorbachev for all this. His great merit is that he did not stop the process of democratisation when it first threatened to run out of control. Russians have always swung between wanting strong leaders and good leaders. Sadly for Gorbachev, when only one type is on offer, they tend to go for the strong. As a result, most of his compatriots blame him for giving up control rather than thanking him for the doors he opened.

## Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

**The Faber Book of Science, ed John Carey (£9.99)**

*INTERESTING* that the job of editing this went to an English don rather than a scientist; scientists are protective of their turf, and rightly so, but not all of them have an ear for prose (the surprising thing is that so many of them do). As it is, it appears that the choice of Carey as editor was inspired, the best use he has been put to so far.

It's a no-frills anthology, whose only concession to reader-friendliness is the interest sustained by the extracts chosen. Carey starts with Leonardo and Galileo, or the beginnings of modern science (it might have been nice to have Lucretius, but then there would have been no end of this book), ending, via the odd tweak of the strict chronological order, with a prescient (1971) piece from Asimov about the unsustainability of the Earth's resources, although all the latest usual subjects — fractals, black holes, quantum mechanics, genes etc — are given elbow-room.

Nothing included is without interest (and the thoughtful sprinkling of poets and writers helps raise the book's game). Carey has tended to go, where he has had a choice, for the first thoughts on subjects rather than the last, so if we miss on the latest developments in a field we pick up on the sense of wonder — in this respect the book reminds one strongly of Humphrey Jennings's incomparable anthology, Pandemonium, which you should get instead, or at least as well, as this. It inspires you to read the source material.

**Thoughts on Machiavelli, by Leo Strauss (University of Chicago Press, £13.50)**

*NOT HIS* most accessible book, but then anything by Leo Strauss is both (a) worth getting your hands on and (b) rare as hen's teeth in the first place. But persevere: for the idea of a political philosopher of Strauss's calibre getting to grips with Machiavelli is the academic equivalent of Godzilla meeting King Kong — you just sit back and enjoy the show. There is no better expositor of Machiavelli, no one better equipped to tease out Machiavelli's subtlety, his concealed blasphemies. I wonder if Blair has read The Prince. He ought to, you know.

**Naturalist, by E O Wilson (Penguin, £8.99)**

*WILSON* quotes the biochemist Szent-Györgyi's definition of science — "to see what everyone has seen and think what no one has thought". Wilson looked at ants, then at primates, and came up with sociobiology: that animal behaviour — humanity very much included — is genetically determined. Various pinheads think this amounts to scientific nazism; one hopes that they might read this autobiography and come to realise what a gifted and decent man Wilson actually is.



# Ironic view from the Bristol Channel

Margaret Drabble has a new novel out. She talks to **Marianne Brace**

*LAST YEAR*, a small piece of literary history went unremarked: Margaret Drabble left Hampstead. The writer moved to west London to join biographer Michael Holroyd. Married for 12 years, they had always lived apart ("An entirely practical arrangement").

For Drabble, it was liberating to pack up her home of 29 years. "In a curious way, I haven't missed it at all," she says cheerily. "I was so pleased to get rid of thousands of books and a lot of clothes."

Now Drabble has a new novel out, The Witch Of Exmoor, her first in five years. And there is no mention in it of Hampstead. Much is set in Somerset (where Drabble has a house overlooking the Bristol Channel). Frieda, a cantankerous elderly writer, decamps there, fleeing her middle-aged children, her "almost embarrassingly unreadable" last novel and the bile of critics. But though Drabble has quit NW3, it won't quite leave her. "There is no hope," she says, resigned. "My last novel was set partly in Cambodia and people still described it as a Hampstead Novel."

In the sixties, Drabble's bright, sparky heroines moved among arty academics and media pundits. They threw dinner parties, wore suede boots and mini skirts, and reclaimed their sexuality after having babies. This led to charges of cosiness.

Her characters are still middle-class and introspective, but their concerns are set against the state of the nation. How do you lead a responsible life in worrying times? Serious or not, Drabble is that rare thing: a literary author who sells. Despite sometimes sneering reviews, she has sold an impressive 1.8 million Penguin books in the UK. And it is possible to trace the ironic, self-assured voice of her early novels to younger writers as different as Barbara Trapido and Rachel Cusk. "It's one of those voices that has diffused out," writer Helen Dunmore says. "People don't realise there wasn't that voice before her. She's never credited as much as she should be. She influenced me a lot as a teenager."

Drabble was brought up in Yorkshire, one of four children. "We were a bookish family. Reading was the only thing we were allowed to do." Her older sister is the Booker prize-winner A S Byatt, and much has been made of their early rivalry.

Their mother was a Cambridge scholarship girl, their father a barrister: "So the pressure on us was to be clever. Any sign of intelligence was praised, any interest in girly things ignored. We grew up not knowing how to dress, but very good at exams."

Like those other famous Yorkshire sisters, the Brontës, it was the younger who published first. Drabble was 23 when, in 1963, she wrote A Summer Bird Cage. She had graduated from Cambridge with a double first, was married to the actor Clive Swift and was pregnant. Her first novel was the result of loneliness and joblessness.

Some writers develop an almost monastic single-mindedness about their work. Drabble, on the other hand, has been generous in championing causes, from local libraries to Gay News.

"I'm very unfashionable," she says drily. "One of the things people don't like in my work is that I keep going back to a kind of egalitarian agenda which is unacceptable. You only have to listen to Tony Blair to realise how far out my views are. I just don't like living in a society where the differential is so enormous. I think we'd all rather have a smaller cake and equal shares. It's as simple as that. In a way that's what my new novel is about."

Drabble looks back to the sixties as a time of social hope when people believed a more harmonious society was possible. "I don't feel that now. I feel everything is grating. People say I'm a pessimist and gloomy, but really I'm a disappointed optimist."

It is tempting to see Drabble as the eccentric Frieda, quitting not only Hampstead but London too. Holed up in the country, Frieda smokes joints and talks to the birds. Is that where Drabble's heading? "I get more reclusive, but I'm not as bad as her," she laughs. "A nice bottle of whisky for me, and the odd pigeon is fine."

The Witch of Exmoor is published by Viking at £16





# Duel in the Crown

**Antonia Fraser**

The Queen: A Biography of Elizabeth II
by Ben Pimlott
HarperCollins 651pp £20

*THERE* are republicans (enough of the Queen!) and there are also literary republicans (enough books about the Queen!). The two categories are not necessarily identical. Convinced republicans may believe that letting harsh light, in on the throne can only help their cause; while monarchists can be literary republicans, preferring their faith in the sanctity of the institution not to be tested yet again. Under these circumstances Ben Pimlott's 600-page biography The Queen, published in the same year as Elizabeth by Sarah Bradford (a mere 50 pages shorter), has to justify its existence.

Pimlott's solution is to write a work of history, where Bradford's fundamentally sympathetic and intelligent portrait belongs to the separate if allied genre of biography.

It is a point Pimlott himself is concerned to make in his preface, as though anxious to fend off criticism that the author of several distinguished works on Labour politicians has somewhat lowered himself in raising the social level of his target. In the first place he quotes Raphael Samuel's reaction: "What a marvellous way of looking at the history of Britain!": the Queen has after all been a Head of State, to say nothing of Head of the Commonwealth, for more than 40 years. Secondly, Pimlott is concerned to explain "the obsession with royalty of the British public, of which I am a member".

This relating of the Queen's life, from its earliest years, to contemporary political and social events has the pleasing effect of casting new light on subjects such as the princesses' Welsh cottage — made in 1932 by loyal craftsmen whose skills were at the same time being wasted by unemployment. Even Crawfie, the governess from Hell in the opinion of the Royal Family after she "snaked" (the Royal Family's word for her revelations in print), gets a new twist as she turns out in fact to be the governess not so much from Hell as from the Scottish "Presbyterian lower middle class" with Jean Brodie-like aspirations regarding her charges.

It is interesting that in her attempt at a wider education, Crawfie had an ally in the royal grandmother Queen Mary. Born an outsider herself (a morganatic marriage in her pedigree), Queen Mary seems to have been the last member of the royal circle to appreciate that intellect in a female was a powerful weapon, not an unnecessary accomplishment.

The cult of the Royal family, as a family, so perfectly represented by George VI, Queen Elizabeth and their two sweet little daughters, is examined by Pimlott in detail, not only in regard to wartime but also immediately post-war. Pimlott suggests that the cosy image of the decent royal couple who had had a good war, and the touchingly youthful princesses, enabled the Royal Family to survive triumphantly as Conservative values were swept away in 1945 — this, despite the unashamed private Toryism of both the King and his wife. From the late forties onwards, the present Queen as a young wife would present a similar image of perfect domesticity.

It was a concentration on the Royal Family as moral exemplars which was of course to have hideous consequences in the nineties. A fatal link had been established in the popular mind between the notion of a royal and a respectable private life. This has led to the obvious question being asked: what happens if a royal has an unedifying or unconventional private life? Is he or she therefore unsuitable for public position? It is ironic that Prince Charles may perhaps one day have to answer it, thanks to his grandfather George VI's emphasis on the "Firm".


ILLUSTRATION ANNE MORROW

Lucid as he is on the subject of the first family cult, I'm not sure whether Pimlott really succeeds in explaining the obsession of the British public with royalty — possibly because he does not share it, at least on the tabloid level. Readers will look in vain for salacious speculations. The soap opera elements of the royal story are handled drily. Pimlott has weightier matters on his mind, notably the crown's powers in the constitution and how they have been exercised by the Queen, in particular the use of the royal prerogative throughout a long reign (which has already passed that of Elizabeth I).

The royal prerogative — the powers of the crown acting outside Parliament — has a long history, too long some might say. Three hundred and fifty years ago, the use of the royal prerogative by Charles I featured among the abuses at the time of the English civil war, while it is not insignificant that torture in Britain, forbidden by common law, could still be exercised by James I by use of the royal prerogative. These days we have milder sovereigns: I can't imagine the present Queen having members of the media carried away to be taught a lesson in the Tower even if she could. Nevertheless the monarch does retain one important theoretical power: to send for a Prime Minister and ask him or her to try to form a government.

Does this mean that the hereditary monarch actually chooses the Prime Minister in a democratic country? Obviously not. In two senses, this does not happen. First, the Queen only sends for a minister whom she has reason to believe has a good chance of forming a government. Secondly, it is the Queen's advisers who make secret recommendations.

These courtiers have a somewhat paradoxical task, as Pimlott points out. On the one hand, they must preserve the monarch from the dangerous accusation of political intervention. Yet they must preserve the royal prerogative itself.

On occasions, the royal perogative has been of genuine importance. Macmillan's resignation in 1963 is a case in point. There will always be some doubt whether the Queen should not have sent for Butler instead of accepting the advice of Macmillan to send for Douglas Home. As Pimlott indicates, she made a decision to "opt for passivity and in effect to collude with Macmillan's scheme for blocking the deputy premier". To Pimlott, this must be counted "the greatest political misjudgment of her reign".

From all the examples he picks it seems clear that Pimlott is arguing that the royal prerogative — rather like the monarchy itself — should be preserved in order to keep the politicians in check. (Some wavering royalists have only to think of the prospect of Lady Thatcher as President to shudder their way back into the fold.)

This is an important and stimulating book which, if not a cosy biography, is a work which even literary republicans can read with pleasure. As for convinced republicans, they will not be greatly cheered by it.

# Major cool, minor classic

**Lucretia Stewart**

Out of Sight
by Elmore Leonard
Viking 296pp £16

*I KNOW* that this hasn't actually been the case but, all the same, I feel rather as if Elmore Leonard dropped — if you'll pardon the phrase — out of sight for several years. One minute, everyone from Martin Amis to me was reading him with all the fervour of a reformed smokers; the next, people were saying "Well, he's gone off a bit" and there didn't seem to be the same rush to read the new one when that time came round each year.

Cut to 1996 and the release of Get Shorty, the movie, in which Miami loan shark Chili Palmer is played by an impossibly cool John Travolta. I saw Get Shorty twice. The first time I watched it while reclining on a sun-bed sipping frozen margaritas served by ushers on rollerblades at the open-air cinema in Key West; the second time was just two nights later, on the overnight flight from Miami to London. The film was great on both occasions and amply demonstrated that the works of Elmore Leonard, unlike those of Carl Hiassen, transfer successfully to the screen. It contained all the best qualities of Leonard's writing: humour, black and good; timing; just the right amount of action and major cool. And it reminded us about Elmore Leonard.

Leonard's new book Out Of Sight will also make a good movie. It isn't quite up there with my favourite Leonard novel, La Brava, but it's still very enjoyable. Jack Foley, legendary bank robber and Mr Cool, is doing 30-to-life in a prison in South Florida. One night two Latino convicts break out and Jack decides to cash in on the confusion. Once through the tunnel which the two cons have dug, Jack comes slap up against US deputy federal marshal Karen Sisco who happens to be outside the same prison waiting to serve a Summons and Complaint.

Karen is tall and slim and blonde — just like René Russo who played Karen Flores, the female lead in Get Shorty — and she's wearing a black Chanel suit. Jack takes a real shine to her, doesn't want to leave her behind so he puts her in the trunk of the getaway car and gets in with her. Very cosy. Spoons.

In there, in the close, dark space, they begin talking, just talking — nothing more, nothing improper. As Karen says later, describing what happened to the man from the FBI, "I was his treat after five months of servitude." Burdon frowned, "He assaulted you sexually." "I wasn't that kind of treat," Karen said.

But afterwards Jack finds that he can't stop thinking about Karen, wondering what it would have been like if they had met under different circumstances, in a bar perhaps. He carries around a picture of her in his mind, remembering how she looked, how she sounded, replaying their time together over and over in his head. Meanwhile Karen is doing the same thing. It's only a matter of time before their paths cross. When they do so, properly, it is in freezing Detroit where Jack has become embroiled in the heist of the year. But then the course of true love never did run smooth.

This is a wonderfully mellow book. It moves along at its own, really quite slow, good-natured pace. Somebody told me recently that he just couldn't believe that Leonard had written 33 books, adding, "Some people just don't know when to stop." On the contrary, some people know when they're on to a real good thing.

**Books @ The Guardian Weekly**

To order any of the books reviewed or in print, over 100,000 titles available:

Phone: **(+44) 181 324 5503**
Fax: **(+44) 181 324 5678**
Email: **bid@mail.bogo.co.uk**

Payment by credit card or UK/Eurocheque payable to: **Guardian Weekly Books**
Postal address: 250 Western Avenue, London W3 6XZ, UK.

**Airmail postage costs (per book):**

| | Europe | Rest of World |
|---|---|---|
| Hardback — | £3.95 | £7.50 |
| Paperback — | £1.95 | £2.95 |

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 20 1996

# Drawn to the otter world

**Mark Cocker**

"*ATHRALDOM* to otters" was how the author Gavin Maxwell described his own infatuation with this wonderfully lithe, fish-eating animal. In fact, in 1956 after his acquisition of a first otter, Maxwell wrote a letter explaining how he might forgo all the trials of human relationships if otters could become his permanent companions. For the rest of his brief life he attempted to fulfil this melancholy ambition, describing it in bitter-sweet detail in his trilogy Ring Of Bright Water, The Rocks Remain, and Raven Seek Thy Brother.

Although Maxwell did more than anyone to cement otters in our national consciousness he was neither the first nor the last Briton with a passion for them. Henry Williamson's Tarka The Otter was already a classic by 1956, and after Maxwell's work, the author, Phillip Wayre, went on to form the Otter Trust, the only single-species conservation body in Britain.

In view of this literary tradition it is tempting to speculate on the qualities possessed by the animal itself that first captivated this trio, and then ensured its wider popularity amongst their audiences. One characteristic, surely, is the otter's extraordinary playfulness. In all of my brief experiences of wild individuals, the over-riding impression has been of an animal with a sense of fun.

Most memorable was the sight of two moving along a river bank in the Himalayan foothills. For the whole time they were in view they maintained an almost Chaplinesque physical contest. This involved a good deal of chasing, gambolling and sparring with each other. Then, a moment later, they would seem to give up completely, plunge into the water, only to clamber back out to nuzzle and cuff one another in a new round of antics.

Otters in Britain also exhibit this love of amusement. They have been observed diving for pebbles from the river bed and handling them like toys for a while. Then they deliberately drop them so that the whole game can be repeated.



ILLUSTRATION: ANN HOBDAY

Anyone watching this behaviour finds anthropomorphic interpretations almost irresistible. Otters seem to be possessed of that same wonderful inventiveness and exuberance we see in the play of our own children — a conclusion made all the more seductive by the otters' manual dexterity, their look of bright-eyed intelligence and endless curiosity.

Sadly, the individual I saw most recently exhibited none of this spirited behaviour. In fact, it was dead, a road casualty, held in a freezer until it could be sent for further examination. Yet death had not completely robbed it of that graceful form which so captivated Maxwell, and even the corpse gave grounds for a certain degree of hope.

A little more than a decade ago, water pollution, especially from pesticide residues, caused the otter population in East Anglia to slump dramatically. At their most embattled, otters occupied just 1 per cent of their former range. However, since the nadir of the early 1980s the Suffolk-based Otter Trust has released 70 captive-bred animals back into the wild. These have helped to bolster existing populations and also to "seed" otter communities in the vanguard of recovery. Today there is evidence of a striking improvement in their position, involving an eightfold increase in occupied otter territories.

Testimony to this heartening development is the dead individual I saw. For all otters released by the Trust are pit-tagged with a micro transponder to aid identification. Yet, after examination the corpse proved not to contain the device, indicating that it was either a descendant of released stock, or one of the wild population now slowly reconquering the wetlands of East Anglia.

## Bridge Zia Mahmood

"*GOING* down the pub", said the BBC's Desmond Lynam during the Atlanta Games, "is not yet an Olympic sport. Beach volleyball is, though." Delivered with his usual impeccable timing, this remark was one of the broadcasting highlights of the 1996 Games — but I wonder whether he would have said the same had he been describing bridge.

Bridge is not yet an Olympic sport, but it took a major step in that direction when it was accepted into the Olympic movement this year, making it eligible to become first a demonstration sport, then a fully-fledged Olympic game. The chance to win an Olympic gold is the dream of every sportsman, and I hope it will not be long before than chance is a reality for us as well as for the beach volleyball players.

The World Bridge Olympiad begins this weekend on the Greek island of Rhodes. Great Britain will be represented in the Open series by Paul Hackett and Ian Monachan, Jason and Justin Hackett, Tony Forrester and Andrew Robson.

There have been instances of twins playing for their country before now, and there have been instances of father and son on the same team — but I'm sure this is the first time in any sport that a country has been represented by a pair of twins and their father on the same team!

Forrester-Robson and the Hackett twins are expected to bear most of the burden, but in an Olympiad there are plenty of teams who are not quite in the top class, and Paul Hackett and Ian Monachan have demonstrated that they are more than capable of piling up big wins. In that respect, the team has a good balance, and if they play to the top of their form, a medal is certainly possible.

Robson demonstrated the kind of performance Britain will be hoping for in the recent exhibition match played at the BT Wireplay Summer Meeting against former world champions Iceland.

Love all, dealer West:

North
♠J53
♥K10
♦AQ6432
♣J3

West
♠K10986
♥J8642
♦75
♣5

East
♠AQ74
♥Q73
♦KJ9
♣K92

South
♠2
♥A95
♦108
♣AQ10864

| South | West | North | East |
|---|---|---|---|
| Robson | | Fo'str | |
| | 2♣ (1) | 2♦ | 4♠ |
| 5♣ | No | No | Dble |
| No | No | No | |

(1) *A weak hand with both major suits*

With the club finesse right, there appear to be just two losers in five clubs doubled — but the problem is South's third heart. If you ruff it in dummy, you won't be able to pick up East's king of clubs, and if you don't ruff it in dummy it may become your third loser.

Robson's solution was a wonderful piece of card-reading and timing. The defence started with two rounds of spades and Robson ruffed. He ran the ten of diamonds, which lost to East's jack, and a heart came back. Winning with the ace, Robson led a diamond to dummy's ace and followed with the jack of clubs. East could not afford to cover, as Robson could then ruff the third heart in dummy with impunity, so the jack held. Robson now ruffed a diamond in his hand, establishing dummy's long suit, crossed to the king of hearts, and led a winning diamond.

There was nothing East could do. If he ruffed, Robson would overruff, ruff his losing heart in dummy, return to hand and cash the ace of clubs to fell the king. If he discarded, the losing heart would go away at once and a trump lead from dummy would do the rest. ©

## Quick crossword no. 336

**Across**

1 Upper arm muscle (6)
4 Threefold (6)
9 French manor house (7)
10 Fear — a danger signal (5)
11 Plain clothes (5)
12 Remark — how French! (7)
13 Prone to casual sex (11)
18 Mexican salamander (7)
20 Zodiac sign (5)
22 Lethal (5)
23 Book extract (7)
24 Scrape (6)
25 Large non-venomous snake (6)

**Down**

1 Suit — to change into (6)
2 Refuse — to make fun of (5)
3 Insurance payment (7)
5 Kingdom (5)
6 Tableland (7)
7 Hatred (6)
8 Mercury (11)
14 Cock (7)
15 Ill-starred (7)
16 Palm fibre, used for binding (6)
17 Immoral — without justification (6)
19 Lubricated (5)
21 Bunk (5)

**Last week's solution**

## Chess Leonard Barden

*ENGLAND* won its first six matches at the 127-nation Yerevan Olympiad, but still failed to keep up with Garry Kasparov's Russians in the gold medal race. Though Speelman (5/6) and Sadler (5½/6) were in fine form, England's top boards, Short and Adams, who both rank among the world's top 10 GMs, were unusually subdued. Short drew his first five games, while Adams drew four before losing to a Georgian.

Kasparov lit an Olympic flame at the opening ceremony and received an ovation from 5,000 spectators who remembered that he is half-Armenian by birth. The world No 1 made heavy weather of the early rounds, where the real surprise was the impressive performance of the Chinese, who beat the No 3 seeds, Hungary — Judit Polgar included — before losing only 1½-2½ to Russia.

Xie Jun was world women's champion for eight years, but the impression has remained in the West that classical chess had a narrow popular base compared with the older Chinese version of the game.

**Sadler v Nedvednichy (Rom)**

**1 d4 d6 2 e4 Nf6 3 Nc3 g6 4 g3 Bg7 5 Bg2 0-0 6 Nge2 e5 7 h3 Nc6 8 Be3 exd4 9 Nxd4 Bd7 10 0-0 Re8 11 Nde2 b5?!** Sadler's quiet opening provokes Black to bid for the initiative.

**12 a3 a5 13 Nd4!** This paradoxical retraction highlights weaknesses on the long white diagonal. 13 Nxb5? Nxe4 favours Black.

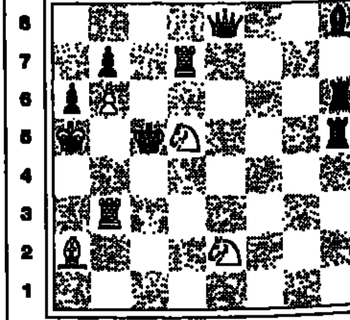
**b4 14 e5! Nxe5** If bxc3? 15 Nxc6 Bxc6 16 Bxc6 attacks three pieces. **15 axb4 c6 16 b5 cxb5 17 Ndxb5!** Better than 17 Bxa8 Qxa8, when Black has counterplay based on Nf3+ or Bxh3.

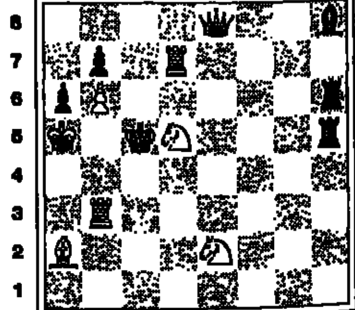
**d5 18 Bd4 Rb8 19 Re1 Ne4 20 Nxe4 dxe4 21 Nd6 Bg4** If Re7 22 Nxe4 Nc4 23 Bxg7 Kxg7 24 Qd4+ White is a clear pawn up.

**22 hxg4 Qxd6 23 Rxe4 f5 24 gxf5 gxf5 25 Re2 Red8 26 c3 f4 27 Rxa5! f3 28 Re4!** Refuting Black's last trick. If now fxg2 29 Rxe5 Bxe5 30 Rxe5 when Qxe5?! (31 Rxe5? Rxd1+) fails to 31 Qg4+.

**Nc6 29 Ra6 fxg2 30 Qg4** and Black lost on time His position is near-resignable, anyway: if Rd7 31 Re6 Qd5 32 Raxc6, White is two pawns up and threatening Rcd6!

**No 2443**





**White mates in two moves, against any defence (by G Svatov, 1974). If you think you can mate in one, you better think again.**

**No 2442: 1 Ra1. If g6 2 Ra4 Kd4 3 Bc3. If Kd4 2 e5 g6 3 Rd1.**

**No 2438: Several readers drew my attention to the fact that Kasparov had a faster win by 1 . . . Qh1+ 2 Kg4 hxg5.**

**No 2439: 1 . . . Qe1 2 Qb6+! should draw, so black's best try may be 1 . . . Ke7!?**

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
October 20 1996



**Football** Premiership: Manchester United 1 Liverpool 0

# Euro vision checks United

**David Lacey at Old Trafford**

AMONG English clubs only Liverpool have won the European Cup while retaining the league championship. They did so in 1977 and again in 1984. Now the feat is rather more demanding, as Manchester United have already discovered.

Without taking anything away from Liverpool's achievements, it is an inescapable fact that whereas once a team competing in the Champions Cup could concentrate on domestic matters between the second round in October and the quarter-finals in March, the Champions League allows less licence.

For Manchester United it is not so much a question of winning both as striking the right balance, so that if they are again frustrated in the Champions League the Premiership title will still be in sight. Alex Ferguson has set his heart on winning Europe's most prestigious club trophy, and last Saturday's performance against Liverpool reflected the United manager's outlook.

Ferguson's team had Asia Minor on their minds — they face Fenerbahce in Istanbul this week. If United take four points off the Turkish champions, who visit Old Trafford later this month, they will be strongly placed to reach the last eight.

Hence Saturday's somewhat absent-minded display against Liverpool, which drove United's supporters to distraction in the second half after Beckham had given them the lead midway through the first. But for the excellence of May and Johnsen, an emergency centre-back partnership in the absence of the injured Pallister and Schmeichel's reliability, Liverpool might have won. Certainly they should not have been beaten for the first time this season, subsequently losing to Newcastle the Premiership lead they had held for a month.

Some feel that Liverpool are the side most likely to exploit an extension of Manchester United's involvement in Europe beyond Christmas, yet this performance did not support that view. Roy Evans's team had an abundance of possession and passed and moved with flair and imagination. But they simply could not take their chances.

McManaman, Barnes, Thomas and Berger all missed opportunities in front of goal which a fit and in-form Fowler, badly missed on Saturday, or the Rush of old would have taken. Well though Schmeichel and his centre-backs played, Liverpool's profligacy was equally responsible for the win that has moved United a point behind them and two points off the lead.

With Europe in mind, Ferguson asked his full-backs, Gary Neville and Irwin, to push up on the wings to restrict Liverpool's normal attacking width. "I didn't want too many men at the back," he explained, "it was worth the risk and it worked well in the first half. But in the second half we didn't have the courage to carry it out completely."

Whether Ferguson intends playing this way in Istanbul remains to be seen. Certainly United will have to show more powers of concentration than they did for the second half against Liverpool. Giggs, who has had an ankle injury, was glimpsed only briefly towards the end. At times Cantona was a non-playing captain.

At least the winning goal was expertly taken by Beckham, who drove the ball in off a post after it had come back to him following Matteo's interception from Solskjaer. Thereafter James was more or less unemployed.

**Sports Diary** Shiv Sharma

# Shearer double covers cracks

ENGLAND beat Poland 2-1 in their World Cup qualifying match at Wembley last week, both goals coming from new England captain Alan Shearer, after Marek Citko had given the visitors an early lead. Shearer brought the scores level midway through the first half and put England in front just before half-time.

Late in the match, the Poles regularly penetrated the crumbling English defences, but some excellent saves from David Seaman preserved England's lead. Shearer apart, England successes were few. The victory keeps them top of Group Two ahead of Italy, who beat Georgia 1-0 in Perugia, on goal difference.

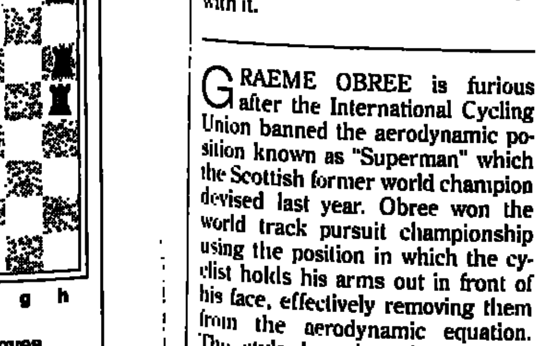
The Republic of Ireland also had a two-goal hero, Tony Cascarino, as they defeated Macedonia 3-0 in Dublin in Group Eight. The 34-year-old veteran added two second-half goals to Jason McAteer's early strike.

But the easiest passage was had by Scotland whose match with Estonia in Group Four ended after just one second, because the home side failed to turn up at the Kadriorg Stadium in Tallin due to a mix-up over timing. Fifa will now decide on November 7 how the points or score from the "match" will be allocated. According to World Cup rules, unless Estonia can explain their absence Scotland will be awarded a 3-0 victory and the three points that go with it.

---

GRAEME OBREE is furious after the International Cycling Union banned the aerodynamic position known as "Superman" which the Scottish former world champion devised last year. Obree won the world track pursuit championship using the position in which the cyclist holds his arms out in front of his face, effectively removing them from the aerodynamic equation. The style has since been widely adopted. An outraged Obree said: "This is a personal vendetta against me. The position is not being banned on safety grounds. I think the ICU is embarrassed because this position is credited to me and I won the world championship using it."

In Lugano, Switzerland, Johan Museeuw of Belgium celebrated his 31st birthday by winning the world championship road race. Barbara Heeb took the women's road-race title, becoming the first Swiss woman to win a gold medal in the event.



**Rusedski . . . fastest serve**

GREG RUSEDSKI claimed a world record on the way to winning his third ATP Tour title on Saturday. Britain's No 2 tennis star swept aside Martin Damm of the Czech Republic 7-6, 6-4 in the final of the Beijing Open, having earlier produced the fastest serve yet recorded in the history of the game. Playing against France's Jean-Philippe Fleurian, Rusedski fired an ace at 139.08mph — 2.8mph faster than the previous record he held jointly with Mark Philipoussis.

---

THE English summer of West Indian Test cricketers may be drawing to a close after the introduction of a retainer system designed to ensure their loyalty to the game in the Caribbean. The West Indies Cricket Board has offered one-year contracts worth up to £40,000 to encourage 20 leading players to remain at home. A further 30 signings are planned, preventing English counties from even identifying promising young players before they reach Test level.

The board's chief executive Steve Camacho said: "Most of our top players now play professionally in England and South Africa when they are not playing for the West Indies. These contracts would ensure they remain at home to help raise the standard of club cricket and to coach."

---

INDIA recorded their first Test victory over Australia for 15 years when they beat the visitors in a one-off Test in New Delhi on Sunday. It was also Sachin Tendulkar's first game in charge. India's leg-spinner Anil Kumble, who took four wickets for 63 in Australia's first innings of 182, took five for 67 in the second as the tourists folded at 234. The Indian first innings of 361 was built around a fine knock of 152 by wicket-keeper Nayan Mongia. Set to score 56, the home side lost three quick wickets but the victory, by seven wickets, was never in doubt.

---

THE world of cricket has been mourning the death of Keith Boyce, the former West Indies and Essex fast-medium bowler, who collapsed and died in his native Barbados on Friday last week — his 53rd birthday. Boyce made his Test debut in 1971 and played 21 times for his country.

---

SOUTH AFRICA'S shock decision to drop flanker Francois Pienaar from their 36-man rugby squad for the forthcoming tour to Argentina, France and Wales was followed by the sudden resignation of Ray Mordt, a Springbok selector, and Keith Parkinson, a member of Sarfu's governing body. Mordt, who is also coach to Pienaar's provincial side Transvaal, admitted he was unhappy about the omission of the man who led South Africa to World Cup triumph in Johannesburg last year.

---

THE image of the Olympic Games is to be smartened up after it suffered a bruising in Atlanta's commercial onslaught earlier this year when the world's most prestigious sporting event at times looked like an enormous flea market of junk memorabilia. The International Olympic Committee, meeting in Lausanne, Switzerland, last week promised tough rules in the future. The IOC has a number of official sponsors and has rules about how the Games can be used in advertising. Its vice-president, Dick Pound, warned that in future the committee would not give the Games to cities unless they agreed with its commercial plans.

---

ASTON VILLA goalkeeper Mark Bosnich has been charged with misconduct by the Football Association after giving a Nazi salute to Tottenham supporters at White Hart Lane. The Australian issued a 400-word open letter apologising for his gesture, which he made after being baited by Spurs fans.

## Football results and league tables

**FA CARLING PREMIERSHIP:** Blackburn 0, Arsenal 2; Coventry 1, Southampton 1; Derby County 0, Newcastle 1, Everton 2, West Ham 1; Leeds 2, Nottingham Forest 0, Leicester 1, Chelsea 3; Man United 1, Liverpool 0; Sunderland 2, Middlesbrough 2; Tottenham 1, Aston Villa 0; Wimbledon 4, Sheffield Wed 2.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Newcastle | 9 | 7 | 0 | 2 | 15 | 10 | 21 |
| Arsenal | 9 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 19 | 8 | 20 |
| Liverpool | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 18 | 7 | 20 |
| Man United | 9 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 19 | 6 | 19 |
| Wimbledon | 9 | 6 | 0 | 3 | 16 | 9 | 18 |
| Chelsea | 9 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 14 | 11 | 16 |
| Sheffield Wed | 9 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 11 | 15 | 13 |
| Middlesbrough | 9 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 15 | 14 | 12 |
| Aston Villa | 9 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| Everton | 9 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| Tottenham | 9 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 11 |
| Leicester | 9 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 11 |
| Sunderland | 9 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| Derby | 9 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 8 | 11 | 10 |
| Leeds | 9 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 13 | 10 |
| West Ham | 9 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 14 | 8 |
| Nottm Forest | 9 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 16 | 7 |
| Southampton | 9 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 13 | 6 |
| Coventry | 9 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 14 | 6 |
| Blackburn | 9 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 5 | 13 | 3 |

**NATIONWIDE LEAGUE: First Division:** Barnsley 0, Crystal Palace 0; Birmingham 3, Bradford 0; Bolton 3, Oldham 1; Port Vale 1, Stoke 1; Portsmouth 2, Charlton 0; Q P R 2, Man City 2; Reading 1, Grimsby 1; Sheffield United 0, Tranmere 0; Southend 1, Wolves 1; Swindon 1, Oxford 0; W B A 1, Huddersfield 1.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bolton | 11 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 27 | 14 | 26 |
| Norwich | 11 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 17 | 7 | 24 |
| Barnsley | 10 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 17 | 10 | 20 |
| Tranmere | 12 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 16 | 13 | 19 |
| Crystal Palace | 11 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 23 | 10 | 18 |
| Wolverhampton | 12 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 16 | 13 | 18 |
| Huddersfield | 10 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 17 | 12 | 17 |
| Stoke | 10 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 15 | 16 | 16 |
| Ipswich | 11 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 17 | 16 | 14 |
| Sheffield Utd | 9 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 16 | 12 | 14 |
| West Brom | 10 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 14 | 13 | 14 |
| Q P R | 12 | 3 | 5 | 4 | 14 | 16 | 14 |
| Oxford Utd | 11 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 13 | 9 | 14 |
| Portsmouth | 12 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 13 | 17 | 14 |
| Swindon | 11 | 4 | 2 | 5 | 12 | 13 | 14 |
| Man City | 10 | 4 | 1 | 5 | 11 | 13 | 13 |
| Port Vale | 12 | 2 | 7 | 3 | 10 | 14 | 13 |
| Grimsby | 12 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 18 | 24 | 12 |
| Birmingham | 9 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 11 | 10 | 12 |
| Reading | 11 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 12 | 22 | 11 |
| Southend | 12 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 12 | 23 | 11 |
| Bradford | 12 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 9 | 19 | 11 |
| Charlton | 9 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 7 | 10 | 10 |
| Oldham | 12 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 12 | 20 | 6 |

**Second Division:** Blackpool 2, Gillingham 0; Bournemouth 2, Wycombe 1; Crewe 2, Brentford 0; Millwall 2, Chesterfield 1; Notts County 1, Bristol R 1; Peterborough 1, Bury 2; Rotherham 1, Burnley 0; Shrewsbury 0, Luton 3; Stockport 1, Preston 0; Walsall 0, Plymouth 1; Watford 1, Wrexham 1.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brentford | 12 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 25 | 14 | 27 |
| Bury | 12 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 17 | 10 | 24 |
| Watford | 12 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 13 | 10 | 23 |
| Crewe | 12 | 7 | 1 | 4 | 18 | 13 | 22 |
| Millwall | 12 | 6 | 3 | 3 | 22 | 16 | 21 |
| Wrexham | 11 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 15 | 11 | 20 |
| Chesterfield | 12 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 10 | 10 | 20 |
| Luton | 11 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 14 | 13 | 19 |
| Bristol Rovers | 12 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 13 | 10 | 19 |
| Bristol City | 12 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 22 | 18 | 17 |
| Stockport | 12 | 5 | 2 | 5 | 15 | 17 | 17 |
| Burnley | 12 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 17 | 16 | 16 |
| Plymouth | 12 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 15 | 17 | 16 |
| Shrewsbury | 12 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 12 | 15 | 16 |
| Peterborough | 12 | 3 | 6 | 3 | 23 | 22 | 15 |
| Blackpool | 12 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 11 | 12 | 15 |
| Gillingham | 12 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 12 | 16 | 14 |
| Bournemouth | 12 | 4 | 1 | 7 | 11 | 14 | 13 |
| Notts County | 12 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 10 | 11 | 13 |
| Walsall | 12 | 3 | 2 | 7 | 12 | 18 | 11 |
| York | 12 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 15 | 20 | 10 |
| Wycombe | 12 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 14 | 18 | 10 |
| Preston | 12 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 11 | 16 | 10 |
| Rotherham | 12 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 13 | 23 | 8 |

**Third Division:** Brighton 1, Cambridge 2; Cardiff 1, Barnet 2; Colchester 3, Wigan 1; Exeter 0, Northampton 1; Fulham 3, Doncaster 1; Hartlepool 1, Darlington 2; Leyton Orient 1, Hull 1; Mansfield 0, Swansea 0; Rochdale 2, Carlisle 2; Scarborough 0, Chester 0, Scunthorpe 2, Lincoln 0; Torquay 2, Hereford 1.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fulham | 12 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 19 | 10 | 27 |
| Cambridge Utd | 12 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 20 | 13 | 26 |
| Carlisle | 12 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 18 | 8 | 25 |
| Wigan | 12 | 7 | 2 | 3 | 20 | 14 | 23 |
| Torquay | 12 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 15 | 11 | 19 |
| Hull | 12 | 4 | 7 | 1 | 10 | 9 | 19 |
| Scarborough | 12 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 19 | 14 | 18 |
| Chester | 11 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 14 | 11 | 18 |
| Barnet | 12 | 4 | 5 | [illegible] | 12 | [illegible] | 17 |
| Scunthorpe | 12 | 5 | 1 | 6 | 15 | 15 | 16 |
| Leyton Orient | 12 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 10 | [illegible] | 16 |
| Darlington | 12 | 4 | [illegible] | 5 | 15 | 19 | 15 |
| Lincoln | 12 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 14 | 17 | 14 |
| Hartlepool | 12 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 13 | 14 | 14 |
| Cardiff | [illegible] | 4 | 2 | 4 | [illegible] | 11 | 14 |
| Northampton | 12 | [illegible] | 1 | 5 | 15 | 13 | 13 |
| Colchester | 12 | 2 | 7 | [illegible] | 14 | 16 | 13 |
| Mansfield | 12 | 2 | 7 | [illegible] | 9 | 12 | 13 |
| Doncaster | 12 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 14 | 17 | 12 |
| Swansea | 12 | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | 12 |
| Hereford | 12 | 3 | [illegible] | 7 | 12 | 15 | 11 |
| Exeter | 12 | 3 | 2 | 7 | [illegible] | [illegible] | 11 |
| Rochdale | 11 | 2 | 5 | 4 | [illegible] | [illegible] | 11 |
| Brighton | 12 | 2 | 2 | 8 | 11 | 23 | 8 |

**BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE: Premier Division:** Aberdeen 3, Dunfermline 0; Celtic 1, Motherwell 0; Dundee Utd 0, Kilmarnock 0, Hibernian 2, Rangers 1; Raith 1, Hearts 1.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Rangers | 8 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 18 | 5 | 21 |
| Celtic | 8 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 22 | 8 | 19 |
| Aberdeen | 8 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 18 | 8 | 14 |
| Hibernian | 8 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 11 | 13 |
| Hearts | 8 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 10 | 14 | 11 |
| Motherwell | 8 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 9 | 7 | 10 |
| Dunfermline | 8 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 11 | 18 | 9 |
| Dundee United | 8 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 5 |
| Kilmarnock | 8 | 1 | 2 | 5 | 8 | 17 | 5 |
| Raith | 8 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 19 | 4 |

**First Division:** Clydebank 1, Airdrie 4; Falkirk 0, Dundee 1; Partick 6, East Fife 0, St Johnstone 1, Morton 0; St Mirren 2, Stirling A 1

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dundee | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 10 | 4 | 20 |
| G Morton | 9 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 12 | 8 | 16 |
| St Johnstone | 8 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 12 | 5 | 14 |
| Airdrie | 8 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 13 | 9 | 13 |
| Falkirk | 9 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 7 | 11 |
| Partick | 9 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 13 | 10 | 10 |
| St Mirren | 8 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| Clydebank | 9 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 15 | 10 |
| East Fife | 9 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 20 | 7 |
| Stirling | 8 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 11 | 6 |

**Second Division:** Ayr 1, Livingston 0; Berwick 1, Stranraer 2; Clyde 0, Stenhousemuir 4; Hamilton 2, Dumbarton 0; Queen of South 1, Brechin 6.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ayr | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 20 | 9 | 20 |
| Hamilton | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 17 | 6 | 20 |
| Livingston | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 14 | 7 | 20 |
| Stranraer | 9 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 9 | 10 | 14 |
| Queen of South | 9 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 13 | 17 | 11 |
| Clyde | 9 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 7 | 12 | 11 |
| Stenhousemuir | 9 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 12 | 8 | 9 |
| Brechin | 9 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 11 | 12 | 9 |
| Dumbarton | 9 | 1 | 3 | 5 | 9 | 17 | 6 |
| Berwick | 9 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 12 | 28 | 4 |

**Third Division:** Alloa 3, Forfar 4; Arbroath 1, Queen's Park 0; Cowdenbeath 1, E Stirling 0; Montrose 2, Inverness 2; Ross 3, Albion 2.

| | P | W | D | L | F | A | Pts |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Montrose | 9 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 16 | 9 | 17 |
| Cowdenbeath | 9 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 13 | 8 | 17 |
| Albion | 9 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 13 | 8 | 15 |
| Inverness C | 9 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 14 | 11 | 15 |
| Alloa | 9 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 12 | 12 | 12 |
| Ross County | 9 | 4 | 0 | 5 | 12 | 14 | 12 |
| Arbroath | 9 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 10 |
| Queen's Park | 9 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 12 | 16 | 10 |
| Forfar | 9 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 16 | 21 | 10 |
| East Stirling | 9 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 6 | 13 | 5 |